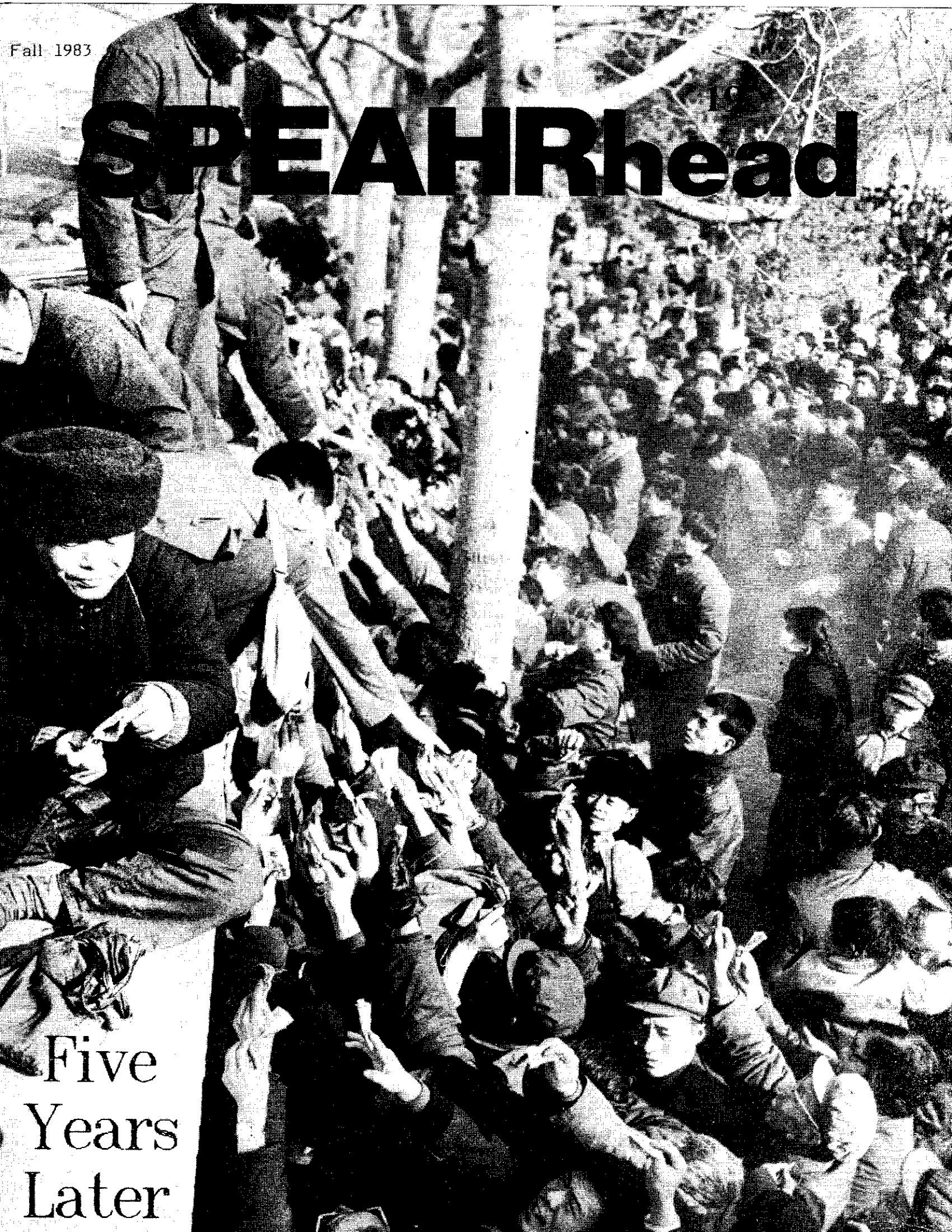


Fall 1983

SPEARhead



Five
Years
Later

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed this declaration as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country,

including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

SPEAHRhead

Number 19, Northern Autumn, 1983

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NOTICE: Hereafter, SPEAHRhead will appear semi-annually (rather than quarterly as in the past). The content will be similar, except that we will not generally carry translations or reprints of articles previously published elsewhere. The People's Republic of China will be emphasized.* Subscriptions will be extended; readers will receive the number of issues for which they have paid.

Cover: Crowds at Xidan Democracy Wall in Peking, early 1979, purchasing publications calling for democracy. On top of the wall are people selling the journals (background), and counting the receipts.

We are grateful to the photographer who took this picture for permitting us to use it. Regretfully, he must remain anonymous.

*We recommend that readers interested in human rights problems on Taiwan subscribe to Taiwan Communiqué (\$18 per year: P.O. Box 45205, Seattle WA 98105 USA, or P.O. Box 31, 3984 ZG ODIJK, Netherlands). For South Korea, see Korea Communiqué (\$15 per year: C/o NCC-Japan, Tsutomu Shoji, #24, 2-3-18 Nishi Waseda, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160, Japan).

There is no publication concerning human rights in North Korea and Mongolia; we hope to carry occasional materials on these places.

東亞人權通訊

Arrested CDM Leaders

The following were major participants in the China Democratic Movement (CDM) which began five years ago. Except as noted, all are believed to have been arrested (mostly in 1981) and none is known to have been released. However, in some cases, the current status is unclear (see Chen Erjin, Fu Yuehua, e.g.).

This listing does not include Hong Kong CDM figures imprisoned in the PRC. See articles on Luo Fu and Hanson Huang, cols. 42 and 34, and also SPEAHRhead 16, pp. 17-18 (on Luo).

Chen Erjin. Yunnan activist. After finishing the book-length "On the Democratic Revolution of the Proletariat" (a sort of "new class" exposé) in 1976, he was imprisoned and reportedly tortured. He was released in 1979, and became active in the democratic movement. His opus was published in April Fifth Forum no. 10. Although he has disappeared, it is not been confirmed that he was arrested; some sources claim he is in hiding.

Fu Shengqi. Active in Minzhu zhi sheng (Voice of Democracy), Zhenxing She, and the Shanghai Young People's Society for the Study of Economics. Fu worked at Shanghai Motor Factory. Ran as a candidate to represent the factory, and won 43% of the vote. As he probably would have won the run-off, none was held. Fu then became chief editor of Ze Ren (Responsibility), published by the National Association of Unofficial Magazines (an umbrella organ for the democratic organizations). He went to Beijing in April 1981 to petition the authorities, and was arrested.

Fu Yuehua. Arrested in January 1978 for leading a demonstration, and sentenced to 3 years. On her release in 1981 she "volunteered" for an extended stay (liu chang) in the countryside. Her Peking registration was revoked, which means she cannot move back to her home. Friends say that the effect of this is to make her a permanent "prisoner" in the countryside.

He Qiu. A ship-building worker, Mr. He (also known as He Fang) was a Red Guard during the Cultural Revolution. In a 1972 letter to his brother, he criticized China's domestic and foreign policies. The letter was intercepted, and he was imprisoned for three years (1973-76) for "mischievous ideas." During the democracy movement he joined Renmin Zhi Sheng (Voice of the People), Renmin Zhi Lu (People's Road), and Ziyou Tan (Free Exchange). In August 1980 he met with Zhong Yueqiu, Zhang Jingsheng and Zhu Jianbin to form a new organization; all were detained for a short time.

On his release, he was active in Ze Ren. He was again imprisoned in April 1981 for petitioning for the release of Fu Shengqi.

Liū Er'an. A member of the editorial board of Minzhu Zhuan (Bricks of Democracy), of Anyang in Henan. He had a varied background, having worked in a bicycle factory, in a library, and in the Bureau of Chemical Engineering.

Liu Qing. Graduated from Nanjing University in 1977, and was then given a job as mechanic in a nearby factory. In November 1978, Liu and his colleague Xu Wenli (q.v.) founded April Fifth

Forum. The next year Liu published the transcript of Wei Jingsheng's trial, and was subsequently arrested. In prison, he wrote and smuggled out his memoirs (translated in SPEAHRhead 14/15). His brother Liu Lianchun was arrested after agitating for Liu Qing's release. He reportedly received a ten-year sentence.

Liu Liping. Librarian in Changsha. Editor of the unofficial magazine Yangtse Mangshe.

Lu Lin. Factory worker. Succeeded Wei Jingsheng (q.v.) as editor of Exploration. Arrested in August 1981, and accused of smuggling documents out of the country. Sentenced to 4 years.

Peng Guangzhong. Guizhou print shop worker. Editor of Shuangzhou Pinglun (Fortnightly Commentator). Emphasized need for better election system, publications law, etc.

Qin Xiaochun. Enlightenment Society figure in Guizhou, and was one of those who attempted to organize the National Association of Unofficial Magazines.

Qin Yongmin. Steel worker. Participated in Wuhan's democracy wall. A leading figure of Zhong Sheng, and was also involved in the April Fifth Study Group. Qing is said to have been arrested and beaten up by secret police after he sold magazines on the street, and then released.

Sun Feng (Sun Weipang). Shandong handicraft factory worker. In March 1978 he went to Peking to put a poster on Democracy Wall. Established contact with April Fifth Forum. Founded Hailanghua (Sea Spray) in Qingdao.

Tao Sen. In September a group of students at Changsha Teachers College decided to challenge the Party in local elections. Most, including Tao, were arrested in 1980, and sentenced to three years education through labor. For a participant-observer account, see SPEAHR-head 12/13, p. 20-22.

Wang Rongqing. Zhejiang worker. Active in April Fifth Society. Founded Zhe Jiang (journal named after the river that flows through Hangzhou).

Wang Tanyuan. Had been confined to a mental institution (1976). Founder of Tianjin Pinglun (1979--temporarily suspended after one month). In 1980 he organized a study group which advocated socialist democracy. Wrote that "no matter how many obstacles are in our way, even if there are many dangers, our just cause and the wheel of history will continue onward to our goal."



Wei Jingsheng



The arrest of Wang Rongqing



Qin Yongmin



Liu Liping



Zhang Jingsheng



Zhong Yueqiu



Zhu Jianbian



Wang Xizhe



Liu Qing at Democracy Wall

Wang Yifei. Automobile technician who had been imprisoned earlier for his involvement in the Li-Yi-Zhe poster affair (see under Wang Xizhe). His citizenship was only restored in 1980. His other main work is "The New Society and the New Class." Became active with People's Road. He was then rearrested in April 1981 for protesting the imprisonment of his CDM comrades, and released shortly thereafter. But he was rearrested as a counterrevolutionary that July.

Wang Xizhe. Wang first gained renown as one of the authors of Canton's famous Li-Yi-Zhe poster (1973), which advocated democracy and the rule of law. He and the other three authors were subsequently imprisoned as counterrevolutionaries. They were released and rehabilitated in 1978. Wang then joined the democratic movement, and was active in Renmin Zhi Sheng, Zeren, and Xueyou Tongxun (Learner's Bulletin).

Although most of these activities were carried on in Canton, Wang is actually a native of Sichuan. He is a Leninist, and might be considered one of the more "leftist" of the democrats. (For an account of his arrest, see Freedom at Issue, 11/81)

Wei Jingsheng. Electrician. Son of an Anhui cadre family. Though a Red Guard, he spent four months in prison during the Cultural Revolution. When the democratic movement was launched in 1978, he founded Exploration. The journal carried several important articles by him (texts in The Fifth Modernization, Coleman Enterprises: Crugers NY 10521). In coining the term "fifth modernization," Wei argued that Deng Xiaoping's Four Modernizations were insufficient, and that China needs a fifth one--political modernization based on democracy and human rights. Whereas most of the dissidents supported socialism, Wei is at best a half-hearted socialist. He was sentenced to fifteen years as a counterrevolutionary and for supplying information to a foreigner. (See SPEAHRheads 10 and 11 for transcript of his trial.)

Xing Dakun. A leader of the Democratic Comrades' Society in Qingdao, Shandong. In 1980 the society put up posters in solidarity with the Polish workers movement and opposing any Soviet invasion of Poland. Edited Zhiyou Luntan (Comrades' Forum). In 1980 it organized a rally in support of the call for the new publications law proposed by some Peking University students. (Xing was not present.)

Xu Shuiliang. Worker in a medical factory. In 1975 he put up a poster in Nanking entitled "Ten Questions and Answers about Socialism." He was arrested, and released and rehabilitated in 1978. Then contributed frequently to democratic journals. His articles include "The Process of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism," "Questions Concerning Class and the State," and "Problems of Socialist Distribution." Rearrested in 1981.

Xu Wenli. Beijing electrician. Active participant in several unofficial publications, including

Siwu Bao (April 5 News), and Renmin Luntan which merged to form April Fifth Forum. He left this publication to publish Xuexi Tongxun (Bulletin of Learning), Shidai (Era), and Ren (Humanity). Xu was one of the more moderate of the democrats, advocating cooperation with the authorities. But he protested the arrest of Liu Qing, which apparently was the reason for his imprisonment. On 5 April 1981 (the fifth anniversary of the Tiananmen Incident) Xu laid on Peking's Monument to the Heroes of the Revolution a picture of Yu Luoke, who was killed during the suppression of the incident. This was not long before Xu's arrest. For more on his background, see interview of Xu in SPEAHRhead no. 8. The text of the court judgment against Xu appeared in no. 16

Yang Jing. Steel worker. Active in April Fifth Forum.

Yang Xiaolei. A worker and CDM militant in Hangzhou, Zhejiang province.

Yang Jing. Steel worker. From Hubei, but has lived most of his life in Peking. Became editor of April Fifth Forum when it briefly resumed publication in November 1980.

Yang Zai-xing. Construction worker. A CDM leader in Guizhou Province. Credited with founding the Enlightenment Society (Qimeng She) in Guizhou (Nov. 1978). Co-author of "Tomorrow," in which the Chinese political system is analyzed, and the necessity of democratic reforms expounded.

Yu Weimin. Nanking dissident. Arrested at the same time as his associate Xu Shuiliang, q.v.

Ye Zhongwu. Store worker. Editor of two unofficial magazines: Si Wu (April Fifth) and Zhi Jiang.

Yu Weimen. A CDM activist in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province.

Zhang Jingsheng. Worked in machine factory in Changsha. Edited Liulan Zhe (1979) whose name was changed in March 1980 to Gonghe Bao (Republican). Active in effort to effect release of Liu Qing. Involved in election (see Tao Sen).

Zhong Yueqiu. Steel worker in Guangdong. Founded two journals in his factory: People's Voice (1979), and Northern River (1980). Was prohibited from running for local people's delegate in 1980. Arrested 23 April 1981.

Zheng Yulin. CDM activist in Wenzhou, Zhejiang. Organized Na Han (Outcry). In 1980, petitioned Peking for housing rights (with some success) but arrested 10 April 1981.

Zhi Jianbin. Wuhan steel worker. Active with Zhongsheng and Ziren. Author of a thoughtful essay on the development of Chinese society.

Zhong Yueqiu. Steel worker in Guangdong. Founded two journals in his factory: People's Voice (1979), and Northern River (1980). Was prohibited from running for local people's delegate in 1980. Arrested that August.

Zhu Jianbian. Wuhan steel-worker and a leader of the magazine Zhong Sheng. Arrested in connection with the Changsha election (see under Tao Sen). X

Chronology of Events

1978

- FEB. "Today," an independent literary review, begins publication.
- SEP 28. People's Daily says "We must not totally ignore" people's constitutional rights.
- OCT 11. First issue of the pro-democratic journal Enlightenment published. It contains several political poems by Huang Xiang which became famous.
- NOV. Unofficial posters advocating democracy based on human rights begin appearing in Peking, particularly on a wall at Changan and Xidan Streets ("Democracy Wall"). Two public rallies are held in support of democracy. More democratic organizations founded, and movement spreads to other cities.
27. People's Daily recalls Mao quotation: "People's freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, thought, belief and person are most important freedoms." Deng Xiaoping says posters, even incorrect ones, are permissible.
- DEC. Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party holds its third plenary session. Political reforms announced.
- First two (of three) installments of Wei Jingsheng's essay "Democracy: The Fifth Modernization" published in the new journal Exploration.

1979

- JAN 1. China Human Rights League founded. Enlightenment Society's journal publishes letter to President Jimmy Carter asking US support for human rights in China.
3. People's Daily: "Let the people say what they wish; the heavens will not fall."
8. Several thousand farmers from various provinces march through Peking under Fu Yuehua's leadership. They demand an improvement of their economic situation. She is arrested January 18, and subsequently given a three-year sentence on charges of rioting and slander.
17. China Human Rights League draws up its "Nineteen Points," calling for free expression, elections, open government, racial justice, the right to travel, and basic economic rights.
29. Joint statement (by seven organizations) protesting government harassment published.
- At least ten Shanghai human rights activists arrested. In February, Hu Anning, Xiao Zongling and Ying Xiongquan were given three-year prison sentences as counterrevolutionaries; the others were released.
- Feb 27. A militant group splits off from the Enlightenment society, calling itself the Thaw Society.
- MAR 16. Deng Xiaoping, at a meeting of Party leaders, declares that some of the dissidents

have gone too far in their demands, but that people should continue to be allowed to put up posters. People's Daily calls for arrests of counterrevolutionaries. Press around country soon echoes line.

22. People's Daily: "We should not take the worn-out weapon of 'human rights,' which has long been reactionary bourgeois dictatorship's window-dressing, as a remedy for the problems of a socialist country."

25. Attack on Deng Xiaoping by Wei Jingsheng published.

29. Wei Jingsheng arrested.

APR 1. It is announced that hereafter posters would have to be placed in designated places, and that anti-government activities are banned. Shortly thereafter, Ren Wandong, of the Human Rights League, arrested.

JUL 22. Public Security Bureau closes down an exhibit of 54 unofficial magazines from all over China, and the first issue of the local Bell is confiscated.

OCT 1. Star artists group holds demonstration in Peking after their exhibit is closed down.

Wei Jingsheng sentenced to fifteen years.

NOV. Liu Qing arrested after releasing the transcript of Wei Jingsheng's trial.

DEC. The Canton publication People's Voice ordered closed.

6. Authorities ban further posters on Xidan Wall.

1980

- JAN. Deng Xiaoping says that the CDM is upsetting the social stability necessary for the success of the Four Modernizations.
- FEB. Central Committee votes to rescind the "Four Great" constitutional guarantees of free expression.
- MAR. April Fifth Forum suspends publication. CDM movement in Kaifeng suppressed.
- APR 10. A 1951 law on guarding state "secrets" (broadly and vaguely defined) is republished. Administrators at all levels were required to make preventing leaks their "constant task." Media required to guard against reporting anything that "touches upon" secrets. No limit regarding punishments is specified.
- MAY. Eleven journals issue appeal for release of arrested CDM figures.
- SEP-OCT. The review Today forced to cease publication. National Association of Unofficial Journals established. Publishes Duty.
- A reported 2,000 students in Changsha protest local election manipulation by the authorities.
- DEC 1. First round of local elections held in Haidian District (Peking University area). Over 90% of the eligible voters participate. Hu Ping (whose platform was his essay "Freedom of Speech")

wins 57% of the vote, but withdraws under pressure from authorities. This was one of a very few free elections which have been held in the PRC.

1981

JAN 10. The Shanghai Jiefang Ribao commentary calls for the suppression of "illegal publications and organizations."

JAN 30. Hu Yaobang delivers speech condemning dissident organizations and publications.

FEB 8. People's Daily accuses democratic activists of being deviants, Gang-of-Four supporters, etc.

MAR. Shanghai's independent labor organizer Fu Shenqi arraigned and told to undergo ideological reeducation.

Feng Fan (Shanxi) ceases publication.

APR 5. The last CDM demonstration takes place. Marking the fifth anniversary of the Peking's Tiananmen Incident, many gather at the square to express their support for democracy (see Xu Wenli, col. 11). At least one person arrested immediately (a young man reading a poem to the crowd).

The final crackdown came during the following weeks. The Central Committee issued "Document No. 9," calling for the suppression of "illegal organizations" and "illegal publications." A nation-wide effort to ferret out dissidents was ordered. This decree followed Documents No. 2 (dealing with "chaos"), and No. 7 (aimed at culture). Final crack-down on dissidents begins. Xu Wenli, Yang Jing, Sun Feng, Wang Xizhe, He Qiu, Fu Shenqi, and Zhong Yueqiu arrested. (See cols 7, 12.)

21. With the publication in People's Daily (05m) of a speech by culture czar Zhou Yang, it became evident that the even the modest "liberal" tendencies among the "official intellectuals" would no longer be tolerated. Zhou condemns "certain current tendencies toward liberalization in our current literary and art circles." He defends past literary policies. "What they are trying to say is that our past literary works were not truthful and were not examples of realism at all. This is certainly incorrect and is a slander against China's revolutionary literature.... In no way can we interpret the Party's necessary and correct leadership over literature as artistic work as crude administrative intervention."

JUL. Exploration editor Yang Guoliang arrested in Beijing.

The PRC mounts pressure on Hong Kong publications supporting the democratic movement in China. Zhengming Ribao forced to close.

AUG. With the arrest of Lu Lin, virtually all CDM leaders now incarcerated.

SEP. Vice Foreign Minister Zhong Xidong calls on foreign journalists to cease covering dissident activities.

NOTE: A more detailed chronology of the Nov. 1978-April 1979 period will be found in *Le Printemps de Pékin*, by Victor Sidane (pp. 21-49). For a sketchier one covering Jan. 1979 to April 1981, see QN J 1981 078576.

CDM Anthologies

Benton, Gregor, ed. *Wild Lilies, Poisonous Weeds: Dissident Voices from People's China*. Pluto Press, Unit 10 Spencer Ct., 7 Chalcot Rd., London NW1 8LH

Chang, T.D., C.F. Chen and Y.T. Lin. *Catalogue of Underground Literatures* [sic]. 2 vols. (Taipei: Institute of Current China Studies, P.O. Box 14-19). Lists (in Chinese and English) titles of documents. Useful introductory accounts are provided for each journal or organization. There are also a few translations.

Dalu dixia kanwu huibian [Collection of underground magazine articles] (Taipei, 1980-81); 11 known volumes. Prepared by the ROC Defense Ministry for internal use, and subsequently published by the Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems. Comprised of reset Chinese texts of dissident writings. Aside from the famous journals, many lesser-known ones are included, such as Zhongguoren bao [Chinese people], Shenghuo [Live], Minzhu zhuan [Bricks of Democracy], Huo hua [Fiery flowers], Sihua luntan [Four Modernizations forum], Kexue minzhu fazhi [Science, democracy, law], and Qiu shi [Autumn fruit--not to be confused with Qiu shi bao (In search of truth), which is also represented in the collection].

Goodman, David S.G. *Beijing Street Voices: The Poetry and Politics of China's Democracy Movement*. Marion Boyars, 99 Main St. Salem New Hampshire 03079.

Lin Yih-tang, ed. *What They Say: A Collection of Current Chinese Underground Publications*. (Taipei: Institute of Current Chinese Studies, n.d.).

Minzhu Zhonghua... [Democratic China: A collection of writings from the democratic movement of the people on the China mainland]. Edited and published by the Student Union of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin.

Seymour, James D., ed. *The Fifth Modernization: China's Human Rights Movement, 1978-1979*. Earl Coleman Enterprises, P.O. Box T, Crugers NY 10521.

SPEAHRhead nos. 4/5, 6/7, 8, 10, 11, 12/13, 14/15.

Wei Jingsheng, et al., *Poetry and Essays of The Peking Spring* (in Chinese). Hong Kong, Ping Ming Press.

Widor, Claude, ed., *Zhongguo minban kanwu huibian* [Collection of unofficial Chinese publications]. Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sciences Sociales, and The Observer, P.O. Box 2910, Kowloon Central Post Office, Hong Kong. This is the first of six projected volumes, and has materials from Exploration, Enlightenment, People's Tribune, Thaw, etc. Volume II will feature Beijing Spring.

Religion

The following passages are from a lengthy article in the Journal of the Central Nationalities College (#3 15A'82 083360). Although the article calls for religious toleration, the Communists' antipathy to religion is evident. These extracts, which are not representative of the whole piece, emphasize this.

Many people have freed themselves from the shackles of religion and have become materialists and atheists. In some areas inhabited by minority nationalities, the system of integration of the church and the state and the feudal system of suppression and exploitation, which the religious temples and clergy practiced toward the masses of believers before the Liberation, have been abolished. Here, the contradiction on the religious issue has become primarily a contradiction among the people [i.e., benign, as opposed to "contradictions between the people and the enemy"]. This is a tremendous change. It is wrong not to recognize this change. However, the religious issue will still exist within a definite realm over a long period of time and has a definite mass characteristic to it. In many places, it is still interwoven with the nationalities issue, and is still influenced by the class struggle within a definite realm and by the complex international environment. Thus, whether or not the religious issue is handled appropriately will have an important, inescapable influence on the unity among the nationalities and the stability of the nation, as well as on the building of a socialist material and spiritual civilization. It is wrong and very dangerous to not recognize this....

An important material factor in implementing the Party's policy on religion and normalizing religious activities is the appropriate arrangement of places for religious activities. Without such a place, it is impossible for religion to carry out normal activities. Religious bodies and religious activities are a part of the entire society. To maintain social order and enable social production and work to be carried out normally, we must manage religion in an organized and planned manner. The normal religious activities which the masses of believers carry out in the religious places should be protected. No one should carry out propaganda on atheism at the religious places, or instigate debates among the masses of believers on whether or not there is a god. On the other hand, churches and their members should not conduct, outside the places of worship, preaching, propaganda, or distribution of religious pamphlets, and publication of religious books and magazines that have not been approved by the government department concerned. If we do not have definite organizational leadership and policy limits, and if

we let believers and non-believers, theists and atheists go about their affairs without division of grounds, then contradictions and conflicts are bound to take place, which will harm social stability, harm the unity between the broad masses of believers and non-believers, and harm the unity among the various nationalities.

At some historically famous sacred religious places, in particular in certain areas inhabited by minority nationalities, it is necessary to revive some temples and churches in a planned manner. [This is an apparent reference to shrines and temples damaged or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.] In the process of reviving places of religious activities, besides what is approved and allocated by the government, it is inappropriate to use the property of the state in the collective to repair and build temples and churches. In particular, in the countryside, we must pay attention to preventing and prohibiting going in for large-scale construction and excessive repair of temples.

In implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief, we must strictly identify and maintain sharp vigilance against individual evil-doers who are carrying out illegal and criminal activities and counterrevolutionary sabotage activities under the cloak of religion. [This point is discussed at some length, but without clarification.] ...

The Party's implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief is meant for our country's citizens, and is not applicable to Communist Party members. Every Communist Party member, without a doubt, should be an atheist.* X

RESOURCES:

- Bridge: Church Life in China Today, m. Ordination of Yunnan pastors, and other news of local Christian congregations. [POB 33 Shatin Hong Kong.]
China Talk 8:3/4 S. "Religion, Marxism and Superstition," and other articles. [2 Man Wan Rd, c-17, Kowloon, Hong Kong.]
China Update, #4 Summer. Articles on Catholicism and other subjects. [Dennelaan 8, B-3031, Oud-Heverlee, Belgium].
---. #5 Autumn. Articles on Christianity, China's population problem, and other subjects. N.p.
Ching Feng 26:1. A. Articles on Y. T. Wu, Kang Youwei, Christianity in China since 1975. (Tao Fong Shan, Shatin, HK.)
Humphrey, Peter. Religious Suppression in Mainland China. Taipei: Asian People's Anti-Communist League.
Lek Hor Tan, "Chinese Catholics and the Vatican." Index on Censorship m.

*This final point is elaborated upon in an internal Party document. "Any member who persists in going against this proscription should be told to leave the Party." It is also insisted that "religion will not be permitted to meddle in the administration and jurisdiction of the state, nor intervene in the schools or public education." Eventually, it is said, religion will disappear. (SCM 18j)

Democratization

Democratic China [Minzhu Zhong-hua]: A collection of writings from the democratic movement of the people on the China mainland. In Chinese. Edited and published by the Student Union of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. HK\$38.

Reviewed by MAB HUANG

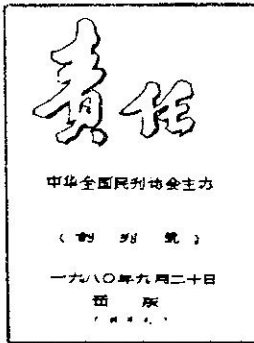
This volume is a collection of writings by political dissidents in the People's Republic. It encompasses a longer period of time than other such works. The first short pieces by Tan Tianrong and Lin Xiling date from the Hundred Flowers movement (c. 1957). (Writers by democratic party figures of that era are not included.) The early years of the Cultural Revolution are represented by Yu Luoke and Yang Xiahuang; the later period by Chen Erjin and Xu Shuiliang, the Li-Yi-Zhe group as well as Han Zhixiang and Wang Juntao of April Fifth (1976) fame.

But naturally, most of the book is comprised of the writings of young dissidents of the Xidan Democracy Wall era, such as Wei Jingsheng, Lu Lin, Fu Shenqi, and Xu Wenli. For it is during this period that the outside world came to appreciate the depth and urgency of the cry for democracy and human rights in China. The two introductory essays by student leaders of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the series of articles and speeches by various individuals living and working in the United States (Chen Ruoxi, Ch'en Ku-ying, Liu Daren, et al.) which are appended, amply testify to this sentiment.

Also appended are brief biographical sketches about each of the writers. These tell the sad story of what has happened to China's democratic movement.

Being comprehensive and covering a long period of time, and this anthology is a useful source. Many of the selections are difficult to find elsewhere. The articles and speeches by intellectuals and human rights activists in Hong Kong and the United States, nevertheless, have not added much to the interpretations and analysis of the democratic movement in China. They are symbolic of the concern and support on the part of ethnic Chinese communities abroad for the young dissidents in China. For example, Chen Ruoxi closed her talk on unofficial publications by appealing to the authorities in Peking (and also those in Taipei) to uphold constitutional law and fundamental rights and freedoms, and to release political prisoners. She was speaking at that time as president of the Chinese Human Rights Society, an American-based organization of ethnic Chinese intellectuals and professionals dedicated to promoting human rights in China and Taiwan as well as civil rights in the United States. So far, her pleas have fallen on deaf ears. Can the ethnic Chinese communities

abroad play a role in the effort to democratize China?



Throughout the three decades of Communist rule, as the writers in this collection make clear, the Party and government (or the different factions in control at various times) have been suppressive of democracy and human rights. This suppression culminated in the lawlessness and widespread political persecution of the Cultural Revolution. In a parallel development, the gentle and civilized "Hundred Flowers" criticism of the Chinese Communist Party's exercise of power escalated to the wholesale, strident condemnation of the regime in the Democracy Movement of the late 70s and early 80s.

This challenge to the political system, and demands for democracy and rights, were derived from different philosophical or doctrinal perspectives. They tended to emphasize diverse factors in their explanation of the situation prevailing in China, and proposed different solutions. Indeed, many of the political dissidents held different conceptions of democracy and rights. Moreover, some of them enjoyed occasional support from and affiliation with certain factions or leaders inside the Party hierarchy. (Thus, the loose and imprecise use by Western scholars of terms such as "conservative," "liberal," "democracy," and "freedom" in the analysis of political change in China.) They shared, nevertheless, a common fate: They were inevitably put down by the authorities and made to pay a high price for their courage. Family life was disrupted; careers were ruined; in extreme cases, long term imprisonment or untimely death were their reward.

Until only a few years ago (incredible as it may seem) the Communist Party and the government never conceded that their governance of China could be less than perfect. The leadership was always presented as great, wise, and all-caring for the people. According to the prevailing ideology, the principle of democratic centralism and the mass line leadership methods had provided a type of democratic decision-making far superior to the bourgeois democracy of the West and made violation of the freedoms and rights of the people unthinkable. As late as the spring of 1979, during the crackdown on the democracy movement, an article in Red Flag could argue that since China was a socialist state, the concept of bourgeois human rights had no relevance, and that by definition China was superior to the West in the protection and promotion of rights. Yet in reality, power had been highly concentrated in the hands of the Party leaders at the various levels, and ultimately in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. And in the last years of his long career as a revolutionary, Mao Zedong exercised power without paying much heed to the niceties of the laws or even to the Party's own constitution. Likewise, the mass line approach turned out to be more of a manipulation and mobilization technique than anything else. The people hardly had any part in the decision-making process--either in the public

or private realm. Coercion and the use of force were rampant. All in all, the claims to a superior kind of democracy were seen as a farce by the dissidents and a substantial part of the public.

True, the leadership has often conducted "rectification" campaigns to correct mistakes in ideology and policy as well as bureaucratism. Often, such campaigns even led to the purge of high-ranking Party and government leaders. It was the lives of the lower-level cadres which were made most difficult. They were expected to set an example in their work and in their daily lives. The pressures were severe to implement policies adopted by the Party leadership. When policies met with failure, they were more likely than not to bear the brunt. Nevertheless, these intra-Party or intra-government initiatives could not be effective in the promotion of democracy and people's rights. Not only did the Party and government bureaucracies tend to protect their own personnel, but these rectification movements also left the doctrinal and institutional bases of communist rule intact. The infallibility of the Party and its monopoly of power were not challenged, nor was the relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

Against this background, it was inevitable that those who were not satisfied with the status quo should stake out a philosophical or doctrinal position different from that of the authorities. In the past thirty years, it is primarily two perspectives that have emerged. The first can be termed the radical Marxist position. According to the "systemic" diagnosis of Chinese state and society which some dissidents emphasized, the economic and productive relations had given rise to the emergence of a new ruling elite or class which often abused its power. They were on the whole contemptuous of mere political reforms. They demanded fundamental structural change. In a few instances, they advocated the use of force and violence to make things right.

Among the radical Marxist dissidents, Yang Xiguang and the Li-Yi-Zhe group were the most influential. When Yang's "Whither China?" (1968) and Li-Yi-Zhe's "Socialist Democracy and the Legal System" (1973) were published, they created a sensation. Yang openly condemned the authorities as a "red bourgeoisie," a new class which had betrayed the revolution. Speaking for the Proletarian Alliance of Hunan Province, Yang claimed to be a staunch supporter of Mao and of the Cultural Revolution. Having "explained" why Mao had engaged in various strategic maneuvers, Yang called for class war. To him, only revolutionary struggle through violence could achieve the ultimate goal of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: the establishment of a nationwide People's Commune. Although he was not specific about how the new political community would be governed, he seemed to have the Paris Commune in mind as his model. (One is reminded of some contemporaneous young American advocates of a new participatory democracy.)

The Li-Yi-Zhe group achieved fame in late 1974 by their long exposition of what they referred to as the "Lin Biao System" and their demands for democracy and the rule of law. China, according to this analysis, had been in the grip of a "feudal despotism of socialist-fascism," a dictatorial rule

of a most primitive and blatant kind. The bureaucratic elites monopolized all power, and on this basis enjoyed all kinds of privileges. They were said to have appropriated public wealth for their private use and perpetuated their status and privileges from one generation to the next. The people were deceived, oppressed and deprived like the serfs of the feudal ages. To put an end to this infamous rule, the Li-Yi-Zhe group proposed a series of reforms. The democratic rights of the people must be protected, dictatorship should only be exercised against non-political criminals. Privileges had to be curbed. The right of the people to control and supervise the government had to be guaranteed.

Yang Xiguang and the Li-Yi-Zhe group shared certain premises. "Socialist Democracy and the Legal System" reads like an extension of "Whither China?" Moreover, both Yang and the Li-Yi-Zhe group and other writers of the radical Marxist persuasion had been influenced, if not manipulated, by Mao and the other Cultural Revolution leaders. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to equate Mao and the young dissidents. For one thing, Mao took different positions at different times on the questions of democracy and rights. For example, during the Yan'an period, he had been prepared to accommodate diverse opinions (i.e., views less revolutionary than his). Some scholars have even called the Mao of that era a "liberal." For another thing, Mao ultimately chose (or was compelled) to compromise with the Party bureaucracy and army. To the hundreds of thousands of Red Guards who had believed and worshipped him, he had betrayed them. Yang was condemned as a counterrevolutionary. He escaped to Shanghai, but was captured there and returned to Hunan to prison. The Li-Yi-Zhe group was also condemned as "counterrevolutionaries." In 1977, (after the fall of the "Gang of Four") they were convicted and sentenced to prison. Two years later they were released. One member of the group, Wang Xizhe, continued to write. He was arrested again in 1981, and given a 12-year sentence in 1982. The crucial distinction between Mao and the young radical dissidents, it seems, lies in their different positions and circumstances. For a man in power, especially in the position of supreme power, ideals, commitments, and values must give way, ever so reluctantly, to the needs of political reality.

民主砖

MIN ZHU ZHUAN

2
1979

The second perspective comes much closer to the Western liberal democratic position. The dissidents of this persuasion were clearly in the minority. Through the decades, people in China had rarely been exposed to any ideas other than Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's thought. Yet, precisely because these dissidents had reached their conviction through personal experience and reflections, they tended to speak in simple, direct and at times moving language about the plight of China and what needed to be done. Usually, they began with individual rights, and moved from there to the issues of freedom of speech, fair elections

and the rule of law. A few of them went as far as to demand a multiparty political system modeled on Western democracies. And to the embarrassment of many of his compatriots and the anger of the authorities, a writer at Peking's Democracy Wall appealed to President Carter for help in promoting human rights in China.

Of this group of dissidents, Wei Jingsheng has become the best known. His series of essays on the "fifth modernization" and his eloquent defense of his innocence in court have been translated into various foreign languages (translated in SPEAHRheads 10 and 11). With a biting sharpness, he condemned the goals of communism as utopian, and deplored the backwardness and plight of the Chinese people. Still, Deng Xiaoping's Four (economic, etc.) Modernizations, Wei insisted, were insufficient; China also needed political modernization, or democracy. Without the ability to choose (and replace) their own representatives to carry out their will and serve their interests, mere economic modernization would benefit them little. Democracy is not only the product of economic development; it is the prerequisite of genuine economic progress. Moreover, human rights are nothing more abstract than the rights of an individual to live and work for a better and more meaningful life. Deprived of these basic rights, an individual cannot be autonomous; he lacks an independent existence and must be subservient to others. Among the diverse kinds of government the world has seen, he concluded, the democratic rule was most successful.

Wei knew that democracy would not come easily to China. As he put it, enemies would try to hoodwink the people and do their utmost to hinder its development. Thus, the people must be ever vigilant, and never permit the political leadership to go astray. Any leader, no matter what his achievements, status and prestige, must be judged by his deeds, not by his words.

Hu Ping, a student at Peking University, was particularly concerned with the issues of freedom of speech and elections. During his successful campaign in the 1980 Haidian District Congress election, he published a long essay on freedom of speech. (Unfortunately, this essay is not included in the Hong Kong anthology, but a translation appeared in SPEAHRheads 12-15). With another student, Fang Zhiyuan, he also prepared a draft "election law," which was submitted for consideration to the National People's Congress.

By far the most well-thought-out and coherently argued statement on freedom of speech

and its relevance for China to appear in the past three decades, Hu's exposition on free speech begins by setting forth the position that this freedom is so crucial that it is a fulcrum by which one can move the world. Speech should be distinguished from action, he insisted, and it should not be punished under any circumstances. He took it upon himself to refute many fallacious arguments against freedom of speech, such as that national unity demanded its suppression or that since it was a product of bourgeois society, it did not apply to China. He saw freedom of speech as the first priority to move China towards democracy. He argued that for many centuries China's political culture was highly authoritarian--"Confucian in form but Legalist in substance"--and that this tradition was still dominant in our times. (The term "Legalist" in this context refers to oppressive rule, and does not denote rule of law.) As long as this was so, he saw no hope for democracy and rights for people. Only when the people had gained a genuine understanding of freedom of speech, and thus changed their political thinking, could change be effected. Apparently reflecting on the Xidan Democracy Wall movement, he insisted that an independent movement was absolutely necessary to bring the democratic reform to a successful conclusion.

In a broad sense, Wei, Hu and the other young dissidents of their persuasion can be said to have shared certain assumptions with liberal Chinese thinkers dating back as far as the May Fourth (1919) Movement. Wei's conception of human rights comes close to that of Luo Longji, who, in turn, had been substantially influenced by Western ideas of natural rights. Luo, a prominent member of the Democratic League, chose to collaborate with the Communist Party when it came to power. However, he was severely attacked during the Hundred Flowers campaign because of his criticism of Communist rule.

Hu's position on freedom of speech, to an astonishing degree, reminds one of John Stuart Mill and the absolutist position of American Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black. Not incidentally, both Wei and Hu were sympathetic to the West in general and to the United States in particular.

The youthful dissidents of liberal democratic persuasion were not necessarily isolated from the political maneuvering within the party leadership, either. It is worth recalling that Mao himself had initiated the Hundred Flowers campaign, inviting criticism of the Party and government. Yet when the movement threatened to get out of hand, Mao was not hesitant in turning against the critics, and launched the notorious anti-rightist campaign. Similarly, Deng Xiaoping seems to have given his support to the young dissidents in the beginning of the Xidan movement, when they were useful in combating his opponents in the Party. But only a few months later, he was condemning them, and by early 1981, the movement was effectively suppressed. Wei was arrested and charged with making "counterrevolutionary propaganda" and giving information about the war against Vietnam to a foreign journalist. On these trumped-up charges he was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. By comparison, Hu was more fortunate, for he was not

INTELLECTUALS,

Continued from column 33.

"Eradicate 'Left' Influences, Correctly Treat Scientific and Technical Personnel." BJ 1M8 083203.

"Give Full Play to the Talent of Scientific and Technical Personnel." PD 24M 083259.

Selected Documents on Intellectuals. Compiled by the Organization Department and Party Literature Research Center of the CPC Central Committee. Published by People's Publishing House. Contains 45 documents and (CONTD. COL. 46)

persecuted. Nevertheless, he was persuaded not to participate in the run-off election, and the Central Committee explicitly condemned his conduct in the election campaign, and issued a directive prohibiting any republication of his writings. Plainly, neither Mao nor Deng can be termed a "liberal." Mao could be practical and accommodating as circumstances dictated; Deng has been fairly down-to earth throughout his career. Yet at heart, they were both dedicated communists, acutely concerned with power and in maneuvering to maintain it. It would be more reasonable to assume that many middle-ranking Party and government leaders and well-established intellectuals and professional people have been sympathetic with the demands for democracy and human rights; but they were neither powerful enough to give support to their young colleagues, nor courageous enough to openly challenge the political system.

Despite Deng's basic commitments and his suppression of the democratic movement, China in the past few years has been going through drastic changes. Ideology in general, and Mao's Thought in particular, have been downgraded. The emphasis has shifted from permanent revolution and class struggle to rapid economic progress. Partly to achieve this ambitious goal, and partly to consolidate power, Deng's leadership has made a serious effort to streamline the Party and government bureaucracies, to rebuild a socialist legal system and to redirect economic policies. In the process of making the bureaucracies more efficient, young and competent cadres have been promoted to more important positions; yet tens of thousands of men and women who had risen in the Party and government apparatus during the Cultural Revolution have been purged for their link with and commitment to Maoist ideology and policies. The move to build a legal system, as has been seen, has not benefited the political dissidents. They were still persecuted, law or no law. In a word, there were severe limits to the political changes in so far as people's rights were concerned. As for the push for economic development, the commitment to large-scale investment and importing technology and equipment from abroad in the late 1970s turned out to be far too audacious, and readjustments were needed.

The results of all these efforts and changes, however, were salutary. The people have become more relaxed, and express themselves more freely. The peasants, workers, and other common citizens have had a little more income and have begun to live slightly better. The professional class--the economists, educators, scientists--have been favored. Obviously their dedication and hard work are indispensable to the success of the Four Modernizations.

The improvement of the position of the professional class, it is clear, began with concern by the authorities for their family situations and working conditions, such as housing, the separation of husbands from wives due to work assignments, and education for children. It was also recognized that, for the professional class to do their work well, they needed more creative and academic freedom. The Party had to avoid arbitrarily

interfering with people's work. Yet this relatively laissez-faire policy was more easily enunciated than effected. The day when scientists, engineers, educators, writers and artists could appeal to their peers and to society for judgment when disputes and controversy arises is a long way off. (Liu Qing, who sought to appeal to the "court of public opinion," is now serving a long prison sentence.) If it is postulated that China was moving in the direction of pluralism, it must be stressed that it was only the beginning of a long and complicated process that would take decades to complete.

Looking ahead, it is clear that the demands for democracy and human rights will be heard again and again. For more than half a century, since the May Fourth Movement, there have always been groups of people dedicated to their noble cause. The Democratic Movement of the late seventies and early eighties has been suppressed; yet it has not been destroyed. Moreover, as the radical Marxist position had been sufficiently bankrupted due to the disasters brought about by the Cultural Revolution, the liberal democratic persuasion can be expected to occupy a predominant position in the political dissident movement.

Assuming that the present leaders continue to consolidate their power and pursue the course of action they have set, it is still difficult to gauge how far they are willing to go in permitting a more open and free society and the rule of law, and how the pressures of political dissent affect Party policies. Nevertheless, it is plain that the commitment to build a viable legal system and the effort for economic development are absolutely indispensable for the promotion of democracy and rights. A viable legal system, no matter how slow in developing, must at some point break through the constraint of the monopoly of power by the Party. The effort of the Four Modernizations, with its concurrent commitment to international trade and the importing of technology and capital from abroad, will in the long term provide a material base for democratic rule and human rights as well as stimulating the desire for political participation and the enjoyment of freedoms and rights. In a word, if the present trend continues, the professional class in China will spearhead a profound social and political change as great as the Communist revolution that was propelled by peasants and led by a group of intellectuals desperate to save China.

To accelerate the modernization process, China has been sending tens of thousands of students and scholars to the West. Although they have been primarily concerned with learning science and technology, inevitably they are exposed to Western ideas and values. Some of them will in all likelihood act as catalysts in promoting democracy and rights in China. Similarly, the ethnic Chinese communities abroad, especially that in the United States, can be expected to play a similar role. In the past few years, many of them have returned to China to teach, to help set up liaison with foreign research institutions and universities, or to trade and invest in enterprises. Consciously or inadvertently, they are serving as agents for social and political change. X

China's Women

The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women, by Phyllis Andors.

Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.

Reviewed by MARGOT LANDMAN

Date: March 8, 1981

Occasion: Meeting to celebrate International Women's Day

Place: A college in Henan Province

Speaker: Female chairperson of a department

"It's fine to talk about how much the Party has done for us women since 1979, but let's compare our situation today to that of the 1950s. Where are the nurseries for our children, the cooperative laundries to relieve us of our washing duties, communal dining halls, sewing groups...? With all these aids, we women were free to concentrate our energies on socially productive jobs, our work."

Date: February 14, 1981

Occasion: Spring Festival

Place: Brigade in Henan Province

Speaker: College student who spent the holiday in the countryside.

"On New Year's Eve, commune members sneaked to the home of the woman cadre responsible for family planning education in the brigade. They burned out the wooden front door (the only inflammable part of her house) to protest recent measures taken by the government to limit population growth."

In *The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women*, Phyllis Andors describes the political, economic, and social experiences of rural and urban Chinese women since 1949, and attempts to place the experiences into a theoretical model of development. For purposes of analysis, she divides the first thirty years of post-1949 China into periods characterized by different economic and political policies which impinge directly or indirectly on female roles: Reconstruction and the First Five Year Plan, the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution to 1969, the period 1969-76, and 1976-1980.

The author has sifted through an enormous amount of material and presents the reader with carefully documented and extremely interesting descriptions of the policies and their impact on women. She has produced a carefully balanced, unpolemical study. Because of the ambiguities and complexities of Chinese policies and practice, and the often contradictory pronouncements on women and their role, Andors runs into difficulty when she attempts to devise a coherent development theory to account for the twists and turns.

When they came to power in 1949, the Chinese Communists had little historical precedent, domestically or internationally, to follow in devising policies to create a modern, strong socialist state out of the politically and economically weak China. The Party viewed the emancipation of women as only

one of many concerns of varying importance. Policies toward women thus had to be changed when they had unanticipated undesirable effects.

For example, Andors points to the 1950 Marriage Law, which became the object of a nationwide campaign in 1953. Unsurprisingly, the All-China Federation of Women cadres responsible for maintaining the campaign (after the Party and government turned to other tasks) encountered tremendous opposition from several camps, especially in the countryside. Older women (usually mothers-in-law) joined men to resist a law which threatened their self- and social definitions. Many men faltered in their support of other Party policies when they found their wives divorcing them under provisions of the new law. In addition, in such a poor country, the family system was more than an anachronistic feudal remnant. The large and often extended family was the institution responsible for the care of the young, the old, and the ill. Thus, while the purpose of the Marriage Law was to free women from glaring oppression by weakening the hold of the traditional family (in the process also attempting to shift the loyalty of women from the family to the state and Party) the campaign backfired when it gave rise to political and economic problems. When the officials recognized the unexpected effects of the law, implementation slackened.

Some policies not directly related to women still had a significant impact on them. Andors analyzes the "xia-xiang" movement as an example. The stated purposes of the Cultural Revolution's xia-xiang movement were: (1) moving educated people from the cities, where there were poor employment possibilities, to the countryside, where labor was needed; and (2) rustivating urban youths and educating them about the realities of life in the countryside. The first was seen as economic necessity; the second was a purely political goal. While the Chinese have not revealed the sex ratio of xia-xiang participants, the available evidence in photographs and newspaper accounts shows many females. The young urban women had relatively high levels of education and skills needed to implement rural modernization policies. Some quickly rose to positions of considerable responsibility and status in rural industry. Others worked on important construction projects, developed health care facilities, became school teachers and even agricultural technicians. The untraditional activities of these women showed the peasants that, even after marriage, women could perform extremely effectively in positions completely unrelated to bearing children and managing the home. To be sure, many peasants certainly were not enthusiastic about the presence of xia-xiang youth, male and female, but their presence widened the horizons of the rural populace. Women, who had represented an essentially conservative force, became part of the modernizing sector of society.

Andors contends that the position of China's women has seen the greatest improvement during periods of decentralization. During the Great Leap Forward, the Party emphasized the expansion of agricultural and industrial production, substituting intensive labor for capital investment. As most men were already laborers, the new source of muscle power and skill had to be women. Now rural women

did indeed join men in the fields and collective enterprises. Women's active participation in labor outside the home led to increased political participation and awareness, and support for the new policies. During the late 1950s, the number of women involved in commune and county Party activity rose significantly. Women's demands simultaneously received greater attention. Inequities remained (women received fewer work-points even if they performed identical work; they continued to perform traditional functions whether at home or as part of a collective enterprise), but for the first time the potential of women was recognized, and women's objections to oppression were seen as legitimate. Feudal patriarchy, with its denigration and oppression of women, was understood to be incompatible with a socialism based on mass economic and political participation.

For urban women, too, decentralization led to expanded political and economic opportunities. While at first street industries were small and often backward, they rapidly gained significance in total production and became increasingly sophisticated. To cite just one example claimed by Andors, during the Leap one workshop made door and window handles and suitcase buckles. Small "electronic computers" became its business in 1966 (p. 138), and six years later it had ties to factories and scientific research facilities. Women thus went directly into the urban labor force, and eventually gained positions of political and administrative responsibility.

Neighborhood committees brought unemployed housewives into the political mainstream. Through these committees, they participated in political and cultural studies and mass campaigns, established welfare services for regular factory workers and mediated local disputes. The committees thus represent an important socializing mechanism for women formerly concerned primarily with their own families.

If decentralization in the late 1950s and a decade later led to a great increase in female participation in political and economic activities, how are the decentralization policies of the 1980s affecting women? Today's policies provide an opportunity to test Andors' hypothesis that decentralization brings an improvement in the status of women. It may be an unfortunate fact, and a complicating one for Western scholars including Andors, but economic policies alone do not govern China or define the role of women. Modernization has become the watchword of the day.

Most development theories claim that modernization automatically brings with it emancipation. The consumer side of modernization might alleviate the household burden. Washing machines, sewing machines, and vacuum cleaners certainly make household chores easier, but they do not ipso facto raise the status of women. During the Great Leap, for example, many household tasks were collectivized, giving rise to communal mess halls, laundry facilities, sewing groups, and nurseries and kindergartens. The educator quoted at the beginning of this review believed that the collective enterprises freed women for productive work, but she failed to consider that the new arrangements did not change the fundamental sexual division of labor. Women continued to perform the traditional female tasks, albeit in new ways. They also received fewer workpoints or

lower salaries for their labor than did men.

Furthermore, as Mao said to André Malraux, "to liberate women is not to manufacture washing machines." That is, providing families with the means to buy labor-saving devices does not emancipate women. In fact, widespread ownership of such machines could easily have the opposite effect by separating women from the productive world and by keeping them isolated in their homes. If each family has its own machines which women are expected to use, the result could be to push women back into the home unless there were a simultaneous effort to get women into the work force.

The modernization of industry has ominous implications for women, particularly given the currently acknowledged high rate of urban youth unemployment. Women have only a tenuous hold on jobs in industry, especially in heavy industry (where the best-paid and most prestigious jobs are found). As the urban unemployment picture worsens, and as mechanization replaces human labor with increasingly sophisticated machinery, it is likely that married women will be encouraged to leave their jobs in industry. They may continue to work in the lower-prestige, lower-paid service sector, thus perpetuating traditional attitudes towards women and their ability to contribute to society.

The modernization of agriculture could have serious implications for rural women. They have gained a foothold in agriculture because it is so labor-intensive. As machinery takes over tasks formerly performed by people, the blessings will undoubtedly be mixed. What will happen to the displaced people? The already crowded cities cannot absorb the new rural unemployed. Perhaps rural industrial projects will take on increasing significance. Certainly, the experience of other countries provides little ground for optimism. Early industrialization has usually included women as a cheap source of malleable labor, but as the sophistication of industry increased, women have been disproportionately affected as they have lost the menial jobs more efficiently performed by the new technology.

If modernization does force women back into the home, the current population policies could prove extremely difficult to pursue. These policies carry an ambivalent message for women. On the one hand the responsibility for carrying out effective birth control rests on females, as does the demand to raise children free of physical and social problems. Maternal/sexual roles thus continue to define women. Simultaneously, however, the strict limit on the number of children permitted each couple undermines the female domestic role. Women with one child and access to modern or at least collective facilities will have much time on their hands unless they have outside work.

Thus, Andors' optimism regarding decentralization and its implications for women should be tempered by the negative impact of other policies. Her book raises many provocative points. Unfortunately, the convoluted style (redolent of a doctoral dissertation) makes the reader's search for the fascinating information and analysis a bit painful. Frequent inconsistent or erroneous spellings do not help. These criticisms aside, *The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women* has much to recommend it. X

The Intellectuals

The Party continues to call for better treatment for intellectuals, but progress is slow. Some--those who were executed--cannot be helped. Not all the executions took place before the end of the Cultural Revolution. One man who taught at Hunan University was executed in June 1977. His children "must be comforted and compensated" (HN 15MB 083181). But we still hear of intellectuals being mistreated, and even beaten up by unappreciated bosses (HEN13MB 083203).

A poll conducted among Tianjin scientists and technicians indicates considerable dissatisfaction with their working and living conditions. 47% said that there is still discrimination against intellectuals. 21% said they could not put their learning to good use. (TJ 10MB 083181)

In the same poll, 51% complained of inadequate housing. On this subject, Yunnan Ribao (22F 083181) acknowledges the argument that improving intellectuals' living conditions can lead to inequality, but dismisses the concern as groundless. "At present, intellectuals in a considerable number of spheres receive little or nothing in the way of bonuses or subsidies. According to a survey, their real economic income is generally 10-30% less than the income of workers of the same age." Almost half of university lecturers surveyed had an annual income of ¥25. In Hebei, the acting governor visited faculty housing at a college and deplored conditions. (HEB RB 22 I 083360)

In the Daqing area (once a model for China) it is now said that there are too few intellectuals in the Party, a problem which is adversely affecting the four modernizations. The "pernicious influence of the 'left'" is blamed. Old liners are said to complain (doubtless with considerable justification) that intellectuals are not interested in politics and dislike attending Party meetings. "Some have even said that, in admitting intellectuals into the Party, intellectuals have to undergo a long testing period because of their complicated family and social background. As a matter of fact, the tests have been limitless, and these points of view are prejudices." (HLJ RB 18F 083226)

In July, PD (487) echoed the complaint. "Some intellectuals who asked to join the Party over a long period of time but frequently failed to have their wishes fulfilled during their lifetimes, were posthumously admitted as members after they had made contributions and died. This state of affairs must be resolutely changed." Although there have been some improvements, "things have developed very unevenly, and the problem remains unsolved in some localities and units."

In Nanjing, trade union leaders have been urged to improve their relations with intellectuals. "Trade unions should represent the interests of intellectuals, dare to speak up for them, warmly help them solve practical problems of all kinds,

and urge them to contribute more to creating a new situation. (3MB 083226)

In Shandong, although the new intellectuals policy is "like a spring breeze caressing the face," it has not been successfully implemented. "Some people regard knowledge as the source of reactionary forces and curse it, regard science as a heretical belief and reject it and deprecate intellectuals, regard them as the 'stinking ninth category' and subject them to persecution." Such actions are foolish and are reactionary forces hampering social development and scientific progress. (Jinan Dazhong RB 10F 083226)

A writer in Jinan Dazhong Ribao (21F 083181), while not denying that implementation of the policy on intellectuals might have been overdone in some areas denied that this was generally the case. "A large number of people still harbor prejudices against intellectuals. This is a serious matter.... Some comrades deem that if intellectuals were treated unjustifiably in the past, it is enough now to remove their 'stinking ninth' label, and that it is going too far to regard them as perfect and even to promote them into leading bodies." It is insufficient to remove labels; such an attitude is a leftist error. In some areas, such as Shanxi, the Party has even instructed that people should learn from and emulate model intellectuals (7MB 083203).

However, not all of the press has such a sanguine view of the intellectuals. Guangming Ribao (the newspaper aimed at intellectuals) carried a commentator article with an emphasis. Now that intellectuals are deemed part of the working class, they must work to make themselves worthy of their new status. They must study more and develop a working-class, i.e., communist, world outlook. They must join the workers and peasants in the front line of socialist construction. In short, intellectuals still need remolding. "During the process, there will be many struggles in which the new defeats the old, and correct thinking defeats incorrect thinking. We shall have some painful experience during these struggles." (26MB14J)

And a writer in Shanghai's Jiefang Ribao (14 I 083181) argued that specialists should not be able to devote themselves solely to their specialty, but should be required to do administrative work as well. "This is related to the reason why the current phenomenon of intellectuals being blindly 'promoted to higher status and rank' has been able to emerge, and moreover to the biased understanding of 'expert leadership.'"

The Hong Kong magazine Zhengming (65 M 083226) explains intellectuals' plight in the following terms: "China is a socialist state, but the intellectuals have been subjected to prejudice and oppression. In socialist China the intellectuals became class enemies--the stinking old ninth class. Since the intellectuals became enemies, knowledge naturally also became an enemy. The secretary of a branch Party in a university in Beijing made public his new theory: Capitalists have capital and intellectuals have knowledge; both of them are exploiting classes. This logic is in no way unusual as he simply put the saying of Chairman Mao into a more concrete formulation. In 1957, Mao Zedong said:

"The more knowledge, the more reactionary."

Another Zhengming article (#66 A 083568) by Xi Xing tries to put the best possible face on a recent "theoretically not very strong" speech by Hu Yaobang. "This talk was obviously a sharp warning addressed to those among the ranks of the Chinese Communists who still show contempt for knowledge." But one suspects that Hu did not go far enough for Xi, who recalls that Karl Marx' contribution to history was possible because he enjoyed freedom of inquiry. "Marx was able to fuse three important European fields of thought because he was not limited to merely reading the works of these three fields alone, but was able to acquaint himself extensively with all the knowledge in human history and to explore penetratingly all the theories and trends of thought through history." More generally, "the birth of great ideas requires not only freedom to read (including freedom of the press) as a conducive environment, but also actual dynamic social conditions with surging currents, as was the case during the Spring and Autumn and Warring Kingdoms periods in the history of Chinese thought." X

OTHER RESOURCES:

- Chen Ruoxi. "A Discussion of the Current Status of Intellectuals in the PRC." QN #2 F 083181)
- Feng Yue. "Be a 'Bosom Friend' of Intellectuals." PD 18M. 083360.
- Gong Sang. "Random Talk on the Question of Intellectuals: By No Means an Expedient." Yunnan RB 5M. 083181.
- Hu Chengqing and Zhao Deren, "Those Who Are Bent on Persecuting Intellectuals Should Not Be Allowed To Assume Any Leading Role." PD 7A 083646
- Li Anzhai, et al. Letter to the editor of PD (5A 083646) concerning violations (by a local Party secretary) of the Party's policy on intellectuals.
- Wang Hsueh-wen. "Problems of Mainland Intellectuals." Issues & Studies, j. Concludes: "The Communist policy toward intellectuals has in general not been thoroughly implemented."
- Wang Xiangtian. HN 15MB 083203. Statement by a provincial propaganda chief on improving conditions for intellectuals.
- Wu Xinhua. "Mao Zhiyong Writes to Conference of Secretaries of Party Committee of Schools of Higher Learning, Convened by Hunan Provincial CPC Committee: We Cannot Remain Indifferent to Violations of Party Policies." PD 11M. 083181.
- Zhang Yangde. "Yangzhou Selects Intellectuals to Join Leading Groups." XH RB 13N. 083181.
- Zheng Shi. "Resolutely Correct Erroneous Acts of Suppressing and Attacking Intellectuals." HQ #8 A. 083808. On dealing with resistance to the new intellectuals policy in Shijiazhuang. Followed by another article on the same subject.

Unattributed:

- "Action Weighs More than Words." Hebei Ribao 12 I. 083360.
- "Certain Leading Cadres of Fugou County Discriminate Against Scientific and Technical Personnel in Defiance of Party Policy." BJ Jingji RB 26 F. 083203. (CONT'D COL. 23.)

Disappeared lawyer:

Hanson Huang

Hanson Huang, a [Hong Kong] intellectual who lived in the United States in the 1970s, has been detained in Peking for more than a year now. Huang lived in the United States during the 1970s, earned a Doctor of Law degree from Harvard and was also active in the Diaoyutai Islands movement. News about his detention first circulated among overseas leftists, and it was reported publicly on October 7, 1982, by the Wall Street Journal's correspondent Frank Chin. Following this, Huang's friends in the US sent letters to high-level Communist Chinese leaders from such places as Boston, New York, and Chicago; they also expressed their opinions through Chinese embassies, consulates, people returning to China to visit relatives or as part of interchange programs, and Chinese sent to the US on visits. So far, however, there has been no formal reply from the Chinese side; there has been not the slightest bit of news on the reason for Huang's detention, whether he received a fair, just and public hearing, and if so what the results were. Those intellectuals who participated with Huang in the "Protect the Diaoyutais" and patriotic unification movements abroad are consumed with anxiety, and his mother in Hong Kong can only wait hopelessly. This has shaken overseas intellectuals even more than did the Luo Fu incident [See Sh 18]. If this matter continues without resolution, the sense of alienation from Communist China among intellectuals abroad will become even more severe.

Hanson Huang is about 30 years old and 5 feet 10 inches tall, and apparently is a man of great ability. He was born in Hong Kong and holds a Hong Kong British passport. After graduation from the top English college in Hong Kong, he passed the entrance examination to Harvard Law School. In 1971 he participated in the Diaoyutai movement in the US and in the summer of the following year he visited China as a member of the "First Protect the Diaoyutais Group." (This was actually the second group, since a 5-person group had gone to China in 1971; the Chinese, however, have always deemed the 1972 group as the first group.) After returning from China he felt that Chinese society lacked a spirit of the rule of law as well as legal personnel. Thus, after graduating from college, he chose to attend Harvard Law School, which is considered the most prestigious of all schools, and the hardest to enter. In 1976 he received his LL.D. degree and was subsequently hired by Baker and McKenzie, the largest law firm in the US. He first worked in that firm's Chicago office, and in 1980 was transferred to its Hong Kong office. Even before his graduation, in 1975, he had been invited to Hong Kong to clear up the financial problems of an enterprise group there.

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the US and China in January 1979, a group of Chinese-American scientists and technicians, enthusiastic about the Four Modernizations, planned

a large enterprise in China. They invited Huang to participate in the planning, and hoped that he would eventually become the enterprise's top administrator. Huang thereupon resigned his good job with the law firm and went to Peking to negotiate the project. For various reasons, the plan was not carried out. Huang did gain experience in the problems of China's foreign trade work, so he expressed his willingness to lecture in the Institute of Foreign Trade. From that time until the summer of 1981, Huang spent most of his time in Peking, occasionally making short trips to Hong Kong or the US. Besides teaching at the Institute of Foreign Trade, he also went to the Ministry of Foreign Trade several times where he gave speeches. At the same time he served as legal consultant to Rong Yiren, chairman of the China Trust and Investment Company, and he also assisted in the revision and publication of a pamphlet entitled "Simplified US Corporate Law."

Huang's lectures and speeches are said to have been welcomed enthusiastically. His speeches at the Ministry of Foreign Trade were printed by the Chinese authorities and circulated internally, and such organizations as the New China News Agency in Hong Kong also read his speeches. His basic observations about China's foreign trade were that it must undergo a basic reform. He urged that all the import and export bureaus under the Ministry of Foreign Trade should be abolished, and instead there should be direct contacts with foreign companies, either by production units themselves, or by trading firms designated by them. The government's functions should be controlled by detailed laws. These views are pretty "liberal" in China, but the printing of his speeches by the authorities shows that his views were not without support.

In the summer of 1981 Huang returned to the United States. This time, as he passed through Hong Kong and travelled in America, he contacted few friends. But he was invited to become a partner in the New York law firm of Webster & Sheffield (of which former mayor John Lindsay is a partner), which he did. In Hong Kong a friend asked him why he had not continued teaching in Peking. His answer was that he had taught for two years and that was about enough; he had not originally intended to stay and serve China, but had remained because he felt that there was a need. He said that in Peking he lived a free life without job pressure; if he stayed there a long time he might become addicted to it and would no longer be suited to working abroad.

It is understood that Huang was not happy in his work in the New York law firm, the reason being that in negotiations relating to trade between the US and China the American partners suspected him of taking China's side, while the Chinese trade department suspected that he stood on the side of US interests. Caught in the middle, Huang felt himself in great difficulty. He thought that by acting in accordance with law and justice both sides would benefit. A bias toward one side would benefit that side in the short term, but in the long run it would be disadvantageous. This was the principle and the judgment by which Huang worked.

We have no reliable information about the Chinese-American trade negotiations in which Huang participated. We do know that the suspicions of certain

Chinese cadres about Huang developed into accusations that he gave information (obtained while he was working in China) to the Americans. Huang wrote a letter to Hu Yaobang refuting these accusations. Receiving no reply, he decided to go to China personally to clear his name. To keep his American colleagues from knowing the object of his trip, he claimed that he had contracted cancer and needed treatment in the form of China's traditional herbal medicine. This is the reason he gave for quitting his job with the New York law firm.

After arriving in Beijing, Huang lived in the Overseas Chinese Building. He made explanations to those concerned in an attempt to clear his name. He also let it be known that he had resigned his job in America and could continue to teach in Beijing, though he did ask for better working and living conditions than he had enjoyed previously. The authorities asked him to stay in Beijing for a while, promising him a decision as soon as possible. On 1 January 1982, he placed a call to his mother in Hong Kong. He told her that he would come to Hong Kong in the middle of the month for the Chinese New Year. During this period a number of Huang's friends in Beijing, including overseas Chinese who had returned to China to serve, and employees of foreign companies stationed in Beijing, maintained contact with him.

[At about this time,] a good friend of Huang was arrested. Her name was Meng; she was a cadre who had once been with the Institute of Geophysics and had been transferred to the State Council's Energy Commission. It is said that she was involved in corruption and leaking secrets. As the Chinese New Year approached (it was on January 14), it suddenly became impossible for Huang's friends to find him at the Overseas Chinese Building. The personnel at the desk said that he had moved out. At about the same time, Huang called his mother in Hong Kong again, saying that he would not be there for the New Year but that nothing untoward had happened.

About a week later, a friend of Huang's was told that Huang had been detained. The friend immediately sought out the appropriate authorities and asked about the matter. The reported answer was that he was in "protective custody," but what this really meant was not explained. People generally understand this to indicate one of two things. One is that Huang was possibly being watched by foreign intelligence and security agents because of his work for China, and that he was taken into custody to protect him. The other explanation is that Huang knew too much about China's internal affairs and was taken into custody to protect China's secrets. Whichever interpretation is correct, neither implies that Huang had actually committed a crime. So in spite of the fact that news of Huang's detention circulated among Chinese intellectuals in the US early in 1982, most of them adopted a wait-and-see attitude. In the first place, the meaning of "protective custody" was unclear; and secondly, if foreign intelligence agents were involved, the situation was complicated and it would not have been appropriate to express an opinion about the matter.

In July or August, a friend of Huang in Beijing received news from the Chinese side that Huang might have been charged with being a spy. The claim

--Andrew Nathan

After a 35-page history of China's Democracy Movement from the Tiananmen Square Incident through Democracy Wall to the 1981 crackdown, Chen profiles ten of the best-known unofficial journals, including Exploration, Beijing Spring, Today, and Duty. She identifies the major participants and the most important articles. There is a brief chapter about campus periodicals. Another section analyzes key themes and issues in the journals, including reform, human rights, and special privilege. But Chen devotes the most space to an informative discussion of literary innovations--what she terms "breaches of literary taboos." The book appends a list of 140 titles of unofficial periodicals and another listing 45 campus periodicals. It would have been useful to know which of these items the author has seen, how many numbers each periodical issued, their dates, and various libraries' holdings. Nevertheless, considerable information is brought together here, and this work will be of value to students of China's democratic movement.

Chen Ruoxi. Democracy and the Unofficial Journals.
Studies in Chinese Terminology, No. 20.
Berkeley CA: Center for Chinese Studies,
University of California, 1982. \$4.50.

American cooperative oil exploration negotiations as the only way to obtain benefits for both sides. Chinese officials, however, feel that this material is an important "secret." In addition, Huang might have seen and learned many things during his two years in China that he did not consider "secret" but that the Chinese officials felt was "top secret."

Hanson Huang has been held in secret custody for more than a year now. Whatever the true situation, whether or not he is really guilty of any crime, the Chinese authorities should make the matter public as soon as possible. China has been proclaiming the rule of law and emphasizing that things must be done in accordance with legal procedures. Is it not ironic that a Harvard LL.D. who wants to help China strengthen the rule of law and establish regulations for China's international trade, and whose contributions have already been affirmed by many cadres, should not be able to receive the protection of the law?

If Huang's case is not properly resolved, how can Chinese intellectuals overseas--both those left-wing intellectuals who know Huang through their experience in the Diaoyutai movement and appreciate his sincerity, and all those intellectuals who want to contribute their energies to China--feel anything but alienated? x

was that Huang had received intelligence concerning energy in China through Meng, and that during negotiations about Chinese-American oil exploration and trade, Huang had supplied information to the American side. For this, Meng is said to have received a two-year prison sentence.

Not long thereafter, the news of Huang being accused of spying was reported in the [Asian] Wall Street Journal [7082], but there were no details about Meng.

Numerous people outside China know Huang well, especially his friends in Boston, Chicago and New York, while studying and working in these three cities, he used a lot of his free time to participate in patriotic movements and overseas Chinese welfare activities. In 1976, Huang worked hard to secure human rights for Taiwan political prisoners such as Chen Ming-chung (whom he did not know at all). [It had been alleged that the Chinese Nationalists had intended to execute Chen, but after an international uproar (largely orchestrated by Huang) he was only given a long prison sentence.] Huang spent a great deal of energy, time and money on a full-page advertisement in the New York Times demanding the release of Taiwan political prisoners. After going to Hong Kong in 1978, during time off from work at the law office, he continued to be concerned about democratization in Taiwan, and he exhausted much of his time and savings to promote mutual understanding on the two sides of the Straits.

Most people who know Huang well do not believe that he would spy for foreigners. First of all, his love for China is recognized by everybody; he did not hide his desire to contribute his specialized knowledge to China. Secondly, he is a man who advocates working in the open. He feels that, in today's world, few important matters can be done secretly. He has often insisted that only by doing things openly, fairly, and in accordance with the law, would China be benefited in the long run. He does not believe that the world holds any true secrets, and so he would never participate in any work of a secret nature. Thirdly, with his talent, educational background and self-confidence, it would be too easy for him to make money; since he has had no economic burdens, why should he spy? If he were to have violated Chinese law, people feel, the explanation would lie in the great distance between, on the one hand, his way of working and his attitude toward so-called "secrets," and, on the other hand, those of Communist Chinese officials. Huang was interested in the collection and classification of materials. In 1979, not long after going to China, he found a way to ship a copying machine there. He often copied documents and even newspaper articles that he found useful, and then filed them. This is the way he had always done things. In America and Hong Kong his file cabinets were full, and he had to clean them out every few months. Working this way in China, however, is apt to arouse suspicions regarding his motives. Then, there is his attitude toward "secrets." Take, for example, the distribution of energy. He was sure that material in this area was long ago acquired by American satellites and was no secret at all. He would even have felt that information in this area should have been given to the American side during Chinese-American oil exploration negotiations about Chinese-American oil exploration and trade, Huang had supplied information to the American side. For this, Meng is said to have received a two-year prison sentence.

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Three Poems

By DREW McCORD STROUD

Simultaneous Translation

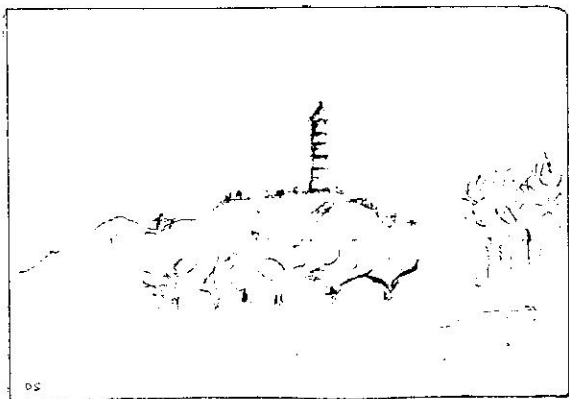
Peking 1981

The White Cloud Monastery

If you tell them you are going
To the White Cloud Monastery,
They will tell you there is no such place.
And when you get to the outer wall,
They will tell you
There is nothing inside worth seeing.
And when you arrive at last at the inner gate,
They will tell you, "Go away and come back
In two years. It is under repair,
And the workmen must not be disturbed."
But I am going to the White Cloud Monastery
Wrapped in a cloud with the moon under my feet,
And I will enter in at the secret door
To taste the funeral feast.

NOTE: White Cloud Temple (Bai Yun Guan) is located on the south side of Beijing. The site dates from the Tang dynasty. In certain epochs it was noted as a center for dissent. Local communist officials have often arranged for Taoist priests to preside over funerals, much to the displeasure of the central

authorities. The temple was low on the government's list of temples to be re-stored, but it has now been repaired and reopened.



In the next room,
There was that funny closet
Nobody could open.
It made strange noises
In the dead of night.
We were talking
About your twenty years in prison,
The penalty for one false note
In your musical career.
You'd been in Shanghai in the thirties.
Had you met Jiang Qing?
"He may have known her,"
The translator says,
"But hardly wants to say so."



The Finest Corduroy

As you reached down
On the train from the Banli wall
And felt the fabric
On my knee,
I told you it wasn't flannel
But corduroy.
And still you gave me
Such an admiring glance.
Did you like the fabric
Or did you like my knee?
The friendship of peoples
Rests on the latter chance.

In the Drum, On the Drum

By LI AO

In my solitary cell, while from the solitary cell
above me can be heard, loud and clear, a prisoner
awaiting execution, in chains, lame and limping.

It's me in the drum
And him on top.
His head's awl, whirl,
My brain swells up.
Sounds from above,
Disaster's heaven-sent.
If he were me,
It'd still be the same.

It's me in the drum,
And him on top.
He walks a turn,
At ten I stop.
His gaze drops down,
My eyes go up.
If I were him,
It'd still be the same.

Li Ao, one of Taiwan's best-known writers, is a "graduate" of the island's prison system. This poem was written in 1982, and translated by Lynn A. Miles.

Warriors

By NIE ZI

"Democracy." "Freedom."

They are more than slogans.

Why are we abroad?

Not merely to escape the gun and knife.

Forget not: The most confining prison awaits
those who insist on democracy and freedom.

Forget not: The heaviest fetters await those who
most strongly demand democracy and freedom.

Who among us has no loved ones in the homeland?

Who has no goals there to fulfill?

You soldiers who commit all to the cause:

When you lose everything and are imprisoned,

Of what, in that darkness, will you be thinking?

What will your thoughts be

when hunger reduces your bones to sticks,
your eyes have lost their gleam, and
you are too exhausted to drag the chains?

What will your thoughts be

after your skin has been split open,
your flesh is torn, and numbness has
replaced the pain; and after you faint
and fall to the floor, you then awaken
suddenly in a pool of your own blood?

What will your thoughts be

when the cold wind pierces your breast
when there is no daylight
time has lost its meaning, and
followed by the sound of dragging footsteps
you are hustled to the execution ground?

Although it is not easy to fight in battle

How much more difficult is

The life-and-death struggle in which we are involved!

How many heads have been lost

In mankind's search for democracy?

How much blood has been spilled

in the struggle for freedom?

In China, the reward has been

Feudalism and monarchy.

In the history of revolution in China,

Why is it that the revolutionaries were even

Crueler than their oppressors had been?

Once won, advantages are not easily discarded.

Can honor, however empty, be walked away from?

Will you, democratic revolutionaries,

When great power is in your grasp

Likewise rely on the butcher's knife?

You will spit out your heart's blood

Wondering how to achieve democracy.

Then, you will agonize about how to safeguard it.

What form is perfect?

Which system works best?

Reason must be your guide.

Democracy and freedom

Will always encounter many pitfalls.

But the task of those who fight for democracy

Is lofty and great.

NIE ZI is a former PRC political prisoner who now lives in Los Angeles. The poem has been translated from China Spring, No. 2, March 1983.

Case Concluded?

Luo Fu

Luo Chengxun (Luo Fu), the leftist Hong Kong journalist who in April was convicted in China of providing U.S. intelligence agents with secret information about China, has been released from prison. He had been sentenced to ten years imprisonment, plus three years deprivation of political rights. He is said to have now found employment in Peking compiling and publishing Hong Kong literary works. (HKS30a. For background, see Xh15G16m, and SPEAHRhead 18.)

He had usually written under the pen name "Luo Fu," but he wrote for Qishi niandai (Seventies) as "Wen Zi" ("literary silk"). The following is a slightly abridged translation of an article which Qishi niandai (582) carried about their former contributor before his release. It may provide clues as to why the case was handled as it was. The official explanation for Luo's release is that he admitted his crimes and that much about him had been meritorious. But if the facts as set forth below are accurate, we may infer that the Peking authorities now believe either that they made a mistake in arresting Luo, or that they overreacted to a minor indiscretion.

By SHIH HUA

Luo Fu, was assistant editor-in-chief and editor, respectively, of the well-known Hong Kong leftist newspapers Da Gong Bao and Xin Wan Bao, a national deputy to China's Political Consultative Conference, and the Hong Kong representative to the All-China Federation of Literature and Art circles. He has lived in Hong Kong for over thirty years, and is a highly reputed figure among Hong Kong leftists. In Hong Kong he had contacts with personalities in leftist and in literary and art circles. Numerous people in literary figures and artists in mainland China and abroad have also had contacts with him.

In early May 1982, when Luo Fu and his family were travelling in Guangzhou, he was suddenly notified that he should go to Beijing alone. He never returned. At the end of May his wife, Wu Xiusheng (editor of Wen Hui Bao supplements) received this cryptic note from him: "I'm in good health; please don't worry!"

His newspapers, on the other hand, heard nothing. This was surprising, because wherever he had travelled he had always communicated with them. His wife, colleagues, and friends inquired of the official New China News Agency, but were always told: "He'll be back soon." In mid-June, Hong Kong's Baixing Magazine first reported the news that he had failed to return and that something had gone wrong. In mid-July, Da Gong Bao circulated an internal communication that Luo had "violated Party discipline and state law," had been detained in China, and would not return. It was said that his

problem was "unrelated to newspaper editing" and "unrelated to his relationships with Chinese friends." Da Gong Bao and Xin Wan Bao officials now held a meeting at which Luo was criticized for his work style and for having committed serious political mistakes....

Reportedly, Luo Fu had had contacts with people from the U.S. Consulate General in Hong Kong, and on the invitation of the head office of the U.S. International Exchange, he was planning to visit the United States in May or June. But these activities were open, and the visit to the United States was confirmed by NCNA to have been approved. Therefore, if there was a problem, it should not have had anything to do with this kind of open, friendly intercourse.

During this period, many reports circulated in leftist press circles and among Luo's acquaintances. It was said that a foreigner was buying paintings which Luo owned at a price exceeding their market value, and in his contacts with this person Luo told him much that would be considered "secret" by Communist China's Party discipline. Another story was that in recent years Luo had brought a house in Great Britain and a villa in Hong Kong and had sent all his children abroad. [According to the Lu Keng article (cited below), the house in Britain had been bought by a son on a mortgage. The Hong Kong house was owned by a distant relative and made available to Luo.] Since school tuition in Britain and the United States is so high, how did he manage to pay for all that? Yet someone said that [the report about] his purchase of a house in Britain was untrue, and while he indeed had [access to] a villa at Repulse Bay in Hong Kong, where he frequently entertained friends, it belongs to a relative of his daughter-in-law.

According to another view, Luo's problem was caused by the phenomenon of "when immortals fight among themselves, mortals get hurt." "Immortals" refers to the top cadres in the Central Committee. When there is struggle there, the mortals close to the "immortals" [who are not currently dominant] are treated as sacrifices. The hope was that when the dust of the top-level struggle settled, Luo Fu would safely return to Hong Kong. Unfortunately, this hope was groundless.

Luo Fu is from Guilin, and is about 63. When he was about 10, he worked for Da Gong Bao in Chongqing (Chungking). He quickly became well-known because of his facile pen and his pure, fresh language. Moreover, he was intelligent and capable. He was also given an exceptional promotion to editor-in-chief of Da Gong Bao in Chongqing, and was known at that time as "boy wonder." After going through the postwar period with Da Gong Bao in Shanghai, he came to Hong Kong. In 1948 and 1949, a large group of well-known left-wing cultural personages lived in Hong Kong. Luo had close contacts with these people and was drawn into the CPC. Accordingly, the one who recommended that he enter the Party was Lin Mo-han, who later became deputy director of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department. Due to this connection, Luo became familiar with the leading strata of literary and art circles in China. He had friends in high levels there.

In the early 1950s, at about age 30, Luo established Xin Wan Bao in Hong Kong. For a while the newspaper had a big circulation. Features which attracted readers were Luo's own "Nightly Chat," "The New Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and "New Journey to the West." (These were written under various pen names). The last two series were republished in Yangcheng Wanbao in Guangzhou (Canton), and in return Luo received quite a sum. He was paid in Renminbi, which could not be expatriated, so he purchased numerous good but inexpensive paintings.

During the mid-1950s, Luo was concurrently editor of Wen Hui Bao and of the weekly Wen Yi. Through this weekly publication he kept in touch with numerous veteran writers and also sought young writers. Many of today's middle-aged journalists were once youthful contributors to Wen Yi.

In the 1960s, Luo was editor of the monthly Haiguang Wenyi. With this publication as his base, he came into contact with a group of non-leftists. The publication was going well when the Cultural Revolution broke out and it suddenly ceased. Later, to restore contact with non-leftists in literature and the arts, Luo Fu pioneered the successful Feng Hua and Xing Hai pages in Xin Wan Bao.

It is obvious that Luo Fu was charged with a united front mission. He has a large circle of friends. He never worried about associating with personages of the right or even those with complicated backgrounds. Communist China had always been surprisingly trustful of him. Before the Cultural Revolution, he had contact with Yao Ke, and Haiguang Wenyi carried his writings. Soon thereafter, the Cultural Revolution put the finger on Yao, but Luo did not get into any trouble because of this. Luo also continued to be friendly with Cha Liangyong, even though the leftist newspapers criticized him.

One has the impression that Luo Fu is highly bookish. He is gentle, honest, and sincere. Moreover, he is witty and a good conversationalist, so he is easily liked by intellectuals in general. A rightist personage who is biased against the Communist Party has said that the image of the Communist Party improves a great deal after it is "filtered" by Luo Fu. Someone connected with the Kuomintang once said that among those who work for the Kuomintang overseas, not one measures up to half of Luo Fu.

Nevertheless, for over ten years, Luo Fu's relations within Da Gong Bao's office had not been too good. The main reason is that the policy he carried out during these ten-odd years changed continually. In fact, though still respected in the newspaper office, he had gradually been losing prestige. This situation can be said to be a general phenomenon among leaders of leftist organs who have experienced more than ten years of changing policies. But despite Luo's broad spectrum of associates, his editorial policies, and particularly his own articles, still "closely followed" [the Peking line] more than many of the veteran newspaper people of his generation. For a time during the Cultural Revolution he discussed the current Mao [slogans] every day in the special

column "Living on an Island" in Xin Wan Bao. Moreover, the slogans were printed in their original sizes, which sometimes took up half a page. At that time the director of the supplement, Gao Lang, was highly displeased, but Luo Fu even publicly criticized Gao as "bourgeois." In recent years his special column "Xin Yu" defended Communist China's policies every day. Sometimes he contradicted himself and, instead of feeling ashamed, enjoyed it. For instance, when the trial of Jiang Qing began in late 1980, "Xin Yu" repeatedly declared that she "cannot remove her fault by 10,000 deaths." A month or so later, when she was given a suspended sentence, "Xin Yu" said that the nature of the penalty embodied the Chinese people's spirit of tolerance, and that in a couple of years in China "there can only be a reformed Jiang Qing or a dead Jiang Qing who leaves behind a bad name." Because these defensive expressions "followed too closely" much, they were held in contempt by some honest people in the newspaper office. If they were used to lead editorial work, they would inevitably cause dissatisfaction among colleagues and subordinates. As for some of those who "followed closely" with him, they trim their sails. When Luo Fu had influence, they naturally praised him, but when he lost influence they never said anything on his behalf.

Secondly, since he was being [shunned?] by honest people, he could only use subservient people to do work. For a good number of years, the chief editor would praise Luo Fu on any occasion. Others grew disgusted and felt that Luo was simply "endearing small characters."

Thirdly, it was he who frequently had to associate with rightist friends in carrying out his work on the united front, even publishing their critical articles. Invariably, leftist literary and art figures in Hong Kong have been neglected by Luo Fu. In the eyes of certain people, his actions can naturally be said to have been absolutely unprincipled.

In any case, the sympathetic voices coming from non-leftist circles are far greater than that people in the newspaper office who worked with Luo day and night. Many of the people in the newspaper office feel that since he is a Party member, he should naturally be dealt with by the Party internally if he has violated Party discipline. But some feel that a Party member is also part of the people and should enjoy the rights of a citizen, rather than be dealt with in secret; the details of the case should be made public, and the trial should be conducted openly in order to show justice. There are also those who feel that for decades Luo had worked diligently and conscientiously, and had performed his duties for Communist China as well as for the newspaper office. Even though he made mistakes, should his merits and hard work in the past be disregarded?

Luo Fu wrote articles for Qishi Niandai. In the early days of the magazine, his prose was published under the pen name "Wen Si." The May 1979 issue published his speech at the Forum on the Prospects for China's Unification. The December 1980 issue republished his article in Wen I Bao entitled "No Need to Doubt that Spring has Really Arrived."

The Nov. 1981 issue even published a short essay in the special issue, "Views on China's Unification."

Perhaps the details of the Luo Fu affair will never be known, and it is to be feared that he has bade farewell to all his friends in Hong Kong. Yet this affair has cast a shadow over Communist China's overseas work. (1) As an old intellectual enlisted by Communist China, Luo Fu's loyalty has never been doubted by Communist Chinese leaders, by colleagues at the newspaper office, or even by friends in other circles. Some people are displeased with him merely because he "followed closely" to excess or because of his workstyle. People find it incredible that such a person could switch loyalties. (2) In the Communist Party, Luo Fu is not someone doing secret work but is a public figure. Particularly in press circles and cultural circles, he has fame and high status. As he has suddenly disappeared without a word, it is inevitable that people in leftist organs are bitter. Intellectuals abroad will also have more doubts about Communist China. When the confidence of people in leftist organs is shaken and when opinion about Communist China in other circles is impaired, China can expect problems to arise. (3) In Communist China's united front of intellectuals in Hong Kong, Luo Fu was undoubtedly a key figure. After this affair, not only will some of the targets of the united front be reluctant to make such ties, but in terms of launching future tasks it may be difficult in the short run to find someone like Luo Fu suitable to carry out the work regarding intellectuals. X

EPILOGUE: Probably the most powerful PRC representative in Hong Kong is the local NCNA director. Until this spring, that post was filled by Wang Kuang. However, he was relieved of his post, apparently because of his support for Luo Fu. Wang may also have been in trouble because of his involvement in the film "Boat People," which many thought showed communism in a bad light.

RESOURCES:

Liu Chung-yu, "Behind Wang Kuang's Downfall."

Xianggang shibao, 19 May 83, p. 4 B 20. A pro-KMT account

Lu Keng, "The Doubtful Case of Luo Fu." Baixing 49 1 J 83, 083854. Based on interviews in Peking.

Su Chiang. "The Consequences of Luo Fu's Sentence." Zhengming #68, 182J. Contains additional personal information about Luo, casting further doubt on the veracity of the charges against him.

INTELLECTUALS,

Continued from column 23.

manuscripts, 30 appearing for the first time. Not yet seen by us, but described in XH15816m.

"To Value Intellectuals Is to Value the Four Modernizations." Tianjin Ribao 19 I. 083360.

"We Still Need to Do a Lot of Work to Implement the Policies on Intellectuals." HN14MB 083203

'headlines

This section is comprised of items of information arranged according to Universal Declaration of Human Rights article number (see page 2), and broken down thereafter by country or territory. If no article of the Declaration is specifically relevant, we designate the category "00." If more than one article applies, our allocation may be arbitrary.

Inclusion of an item does not necessarily imply a judgment that a violation of human rights has actually taken place. For example, we include information on the use of capital punishment even in the cases of common-law criminals (under 05), though the Declaration takes no clear position on whether or not such executions violate human rights.

As with other material appearing in SPEAHRhead, we present this information in the belief that it will be of interest to members, but we cannot always vouch for the validity of the allegations. Our sources (usually the media of the country concerned) are indicated at the end of each item.

CHINA

00-GENERAL

PETITIONING. In at least some areas of China, citizens are encouraged to petition and visit government officials, but the practice is implemented in an illiberal manner. The Communist Party's emphasis seems to be on utilizing such input as a means of disciplining errant cadres. According to a Liaoning report (158190), "Cases of opposition to the Party's line, principles, policies, resolutions and the four basic principles, and cases of violating organizational discipline, are stressed.... As for questions raised by the people in their petitions and visits, Party committees and discipline inspection commissions at all levels should study and deal with them in a timely manner." Unfortunately, "false" accusers receive no protection. "Those who have created chaos and false charges and have willfully made trouble by taking advantage of sending petitions and paying petition visits should be sternly dealt with."

PRISONS. China's prisons have been placed under the jurisdiction of the "justice departments," presumably meaning the Ministry of Justice. Ever since 1949, they had been run by the ministry of public security. The stated purpose of the shift is to permit the Ministry of Public Security to focus on security and social order. It is unclear how prison conditions will be affected. (XH23824)

The same report explained the difference between labor reform and labor reeducation as follows: "Those who have committed minor offences or violated regulations concerning social order are sent to reeducation through labor, which is an administrative measure, while reform through labor is a criminal punishment."

NON-COMMUNIST REPRESENTATION. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has increased its non-communist representation. The proportion of Party members has dropped from 60 percent to 40 percent. (The CPPCC has virtually no power.) (BR9m)

Similar changes have been effected locally. Guangzhou (Canton) has been restructuring the city's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). According to tentative plans, its non-Communist representation will increase to 60%. The standing committee is to be no more than 35% CP. Intellectuals will be especially sought for local CPPCC membership. HK Bao. 9M. 083203

On non-communist parties, see §20.

RESOURCES:

--From the PRC:

- Li Gui. "Continue to Grasp Firmly the Implementation of Various United Front Policies." PD 19822a. Comments that "the carrying out of these policies is currently irrational, and the work in some areas goes on at a snail's pace."
- Yang Jingren. "United Front in the New Period." HQ #7 1A. 083736. Party journal's definitive statement on relations with non-Communist groups.
- Zhang Da. "Turtles in a Jar--The Compete Story About the Cracking of a KMT Espionage Case." PD 6A. 083369.

--From and about the China Spring movement:

- "China Spring: A Summary of a Roundtable Discussion of China Spring's Editorial Board." Freedom at Issue, 5.

"'China Spring' on the Move." Asiaweek, 25 Feb. Lengthy account of the overseas movement, including an interview with Li Lin.

Lek Hor Tan. "China Spring in North America." Index on Censorship, A.

Li Liwen. "Further Criticism of Wang Bingzhang and 'China Spring'" (in Chinese). QN #159, A.

Ru Xia. "Wang Bingzhang's Chicago Tongue-lashing" (In Chinese). Zhengming, m.

Wang Bingzhang, "From 'Beijing Spring' to 'China Spring'" (In Chinese). Baixing, no. 44, 16 May 83. Fourth in a series of articles by the best-known "China Spring" figure.

Yu Lei. "Some Thoughts about China Spring" (in Chinese). Zhengming #44 F.

Yun Fu-fang. "Wang Bingzhang: What He Is and Is Not" (in Chinese). Qishi niandai #157 F.

Zhongguo zhi chun (China Spring), no. 4 (July). POB 243, New York 10185. Articles on the subject of patriotism, state security, culture, and other aspects of the problem of democracy and human rights in China. Also some articles about Taiwan and Hong Kong.

---, no. 5 (August). Articles on hijacking, Deng Xiaoping's works, letter to Hu Yaobang, Marxism, agriculture, wage scales, secret trials, federalism, one- vs. two-party rule, modernization under the Qing, Taiwan.

---, no. 6 (Sept.). On Xiao Guangtan and Hu Qiaomu, economic reforms, China's democracy movement compared with Poland's and the USSR's, the Hong Kong question, literature and poetry, capital punishment.

Miscellaneous:

Chan, Anita, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger. *Chen Village: The Recent History of a Peasant Community in Mao's China*. (University of California Press.) Contains long, searing accounts of struggle campaigns and political imprisonment in rural China during the 1960s and 1970s.

Le Ting. "Recalling Sufan." Zhengming, m. About the mid-1950s campaign against Hu Feng and others.

Mosher, Steven W. *Broken Earth: The Rural Chinese*. (Free Press) Based on the author's investigations in Guangdong province. New information on corruption, abortion, etc. A highly critical but not-unconvincing account.

02-MINORITIES

ZHUANG. China's largest minority is the Zhuang of Guangxi. Recently in the region, various verdicts have been "reversed" for people once deemed guilty of "local nationalism." 27,28029a; 29830S; 084202

RUSSIANS. China has some ethnic Russians, most of whom (2,662) live in Xinjiang near the USSR border. There is a Russian in the NPC. (BJ017J 083866). Much media attention was given to the celebration of the Russian Orthodox Easter in Urumchi (10813m).

MONGOLS. Qin Weixian (apparently a Han) has been imprisoned and expelled from the Party because he persecuted people in Inner Mongolia. (25081N)

TIBETANS. SPEAHRhead #21 will contain a feature article about Tibet.

RESOURCES:

Jin Langbai. "Conscientiously Shift the Emphasis in Nationality Work to Economic Construction. Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao 3, 15a'82. 083259. Concerning the Mongols, Daur, Ewenki's and Kirgiz of Heilongjiang Province, but with obvious implications for all of China's ethnic minorities.

Ma Dezhong. "Do a Good Job in CPPCC Work; Strive to Fulfill the General Task of People of All Nationalities." NXR 14 I. 083203

Tibet Society Newsletter. Summer 1983. On Tibetan medical practices, and other subjects. (PO Box 1968, Bloomington IN 47402).

Zhao Yingdong and Liu Shaochuan. "Improve the Relations Among the Nationalities and Strengthen the Unity of the Nationalities--Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Publicity of Comrade Mao Zedong's On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao 3, 156a'82. 083360. Lengthy commentary which cautions against both rightist and leftist mistakes in nationalities policy.

Zhou Hui. "Strive to Improve and Develop the Socialist Relations of Nationalities." Red Flag #12. 084141. Reflects the current cautious approach toward handling ethnic minorities.

02-WOMEN

Discrimination, female infanticide, and kidnapping of women are serious problems in rural Fujian. First provincial Party secretary Zhang Yimin declared: "Comrades in charge of women's work must ...resolutely clamp down on such crimes." He also said that abortion is "justifiable" if a woman already has two children. FJ7M3 083226; see also BR 25A

RESOURCES:

"Overcome the Outworn Prejudice that Men are Superior to Women." Red Flag #5, 1M. 083318.

"Safeguarding Women's Rights." Beijing Review #18, 2m.

05-EXECUTIONS

In spite of a UN call for a world-wide reduction in the number of executions, executions of convicted Chinese criminals continue at a rapid pace. In September, the death penalty was introduced for six new categories of offenses, bringing the total number of capital crimes to 29. According to AFP, there are unconfirmed reports that "most districts" have been given quotas of numbers of executions to be carried out, and that during an unspecified period there have been 200 executions in each of China's provinces (SCM 14 16 20 S). According to a court bulletin, 10,000 people were executed between August and October (K19821o).

Thirty convicted criminals were executed in Beijing around the second week of August. One had been charged with stealing an automobile, the others with more serious offenses. All were under age 35. One was a woman. Altogether, between 100 and 200 death sentences were handed down (during an unspecified period). Some diplomats believe that

nearly 1,000 people were executed during the last month of so of summer. Executions have been reported not only in the major centers, but also Heilongjiang, Liaoning, Hebei, Shandong, Henan, Shaanxi, Qinghai, and Inner Mongolia. Many executions are not reported in the press. However, sentences are often announced in posted notices, with red check marks added when the sentences are carried out. In the case of violent crimes, death sentences need not be reviewed by the Supreme Court. (AFP20823a, HKS6S, R23a, NYT13S, SCM17S)

Other reports (number executed in parentheses, E=executed, S=death sentence):

For murder (E=3): GD826M1J.

(S=1): QH 25829a.

Armed robbery and assassination plot (E=3): AP 8m
Espionage: Two GD men: NYT 7S, SCM 7S, Indonesia Times 7S, CD 4A.

Selling girls (E=4): K19821o.

Amnesty International announced on October 27 that it had written President Li Xiannian urging that China halt the wave of executions. The organization said that it knew of 600 executions and was sure there were many more, and that this was the highest rate of executions since the early 1970s. AI urged President Li "to do everything in your power to stop further executions from being carried out and to consider commuting all pending death sentences."

OTHER CRUEL PUNISHMENT

The pro-Soviet Ba Yi radio carried the following commentary on the condition of the leading leftist prisoners: "At a group discussion meeting of the National People's Congress, some army deputies raised this question: 'Since the court passed sentences on the Gang of Four, they have served their sentences under favorable conditions. Jiang Qing and elements of her faction have been allowed to read newspapers, books and documents, listen to the radio, watch television, write articles and send letters. They may take a walk every day and enjoy good medical attention.... But [various military figures] face very different conditions. For 11 years now, they have been kept in damp, dark prisons and given very poor medical care. For years they have been practically isolated from the outside world. It is simply a miracle that they have endured and not succumbed to torture as did Peng Dehuai. Although some of the former key leaders of our Army are now under house arrest instead of being in prison, their living conditions still do not compare with those of the Gang of Four....'" (B12814J)

Wei Jingsheng, author of the famous essay "Fifth Modernization" and now serving a 15-year sentence, is reportedly being held in solitary confinement in Beijing's "model" No. 1 Prison. He may only exercise once a month. He is allowed reading matter, but may not write. His mind is said to be wandering. (FEE16J)

07-EQUALITY

RESOURCE:

Xue Yan. "Is it Necessary for Rural Party Members to Take the Lead in Becoming Rich Through Labor?" Red Flag #9 1m 083822. Raises the delicate issue of the economic status of cadres and Party members. "At present, becoming better-off through hard work has become a very popular slogan in the countryside. We are all for this. However, as far as advanced elements (particularly Party members) are concerned this is not the whole issue and is not their ultimate goal.... Every Party member must consistently guard against and overcome the corrosive influence of the bourgeois idea of putting money first in everything, and must not lose the true qualities of the vanguard fighters of the working class.... Evil practices such as speculation and profiteering, bribery and smuggling, theft and robbery, cheating and swindling, and passing inferior goods off as standard ones will not be tolerated.... Anyone who seeks to become better-off alone, engrosses himself in individual production, and shows no concern for the interests of the Party, collective, and masses is not worthy of the honorable title of a Party member."

09-IMPRISONMENT

Additional alleged espionage agents have been placed in custody, usually for spying for the Kuomintang. Four were sentenced in Shanghai to between five and fifteen years (CD 18m). Two were arrested in Liaoning (GM/AFP28J 083990). A Beijing man was sentenced to life; others in the case were sentenced to shorter terms (15820J, BR 25A). In Guangxi, two alleged KMT agents were imprisoned (17M 083203). In Zhejiang a man was sentenced to 13 years on similar charges (CD11S). Another Zhejiang man was sentenced in Shanghai to ten years imprisonment for passing information to an unspecified foreign country, and for rape (10811j, HKS 11j). See also 05.

Li Shuang, the artist detained sentenced to two years, was released on July 9, two months ahead of schedule. Fiancée of a French diplomat, she has been the subject of an international campaign. (London Times 11j)

RESOURCES:

Lek Hor Tan. "Liu Shanqing." Index on Censorship A. An account of the Hong Kong man imprisoned in China for political reasons.
He Li. "The Imprisonment of Liu Shanqing." Qishi Niandai #160, m.

10-LAW

Beijing Review (6J) carried a lengthy feature on the status and role of lawyers. Their function is defined as "to safeguard the interests of the state and the collective and the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens, including the legitimate rights and interests of the defendants involved in criminal cases."

Lin Xiling, a law graduate who has been studying in Hong Kong, called attention to the problems of

developing legal institutions in China. "Law in China is not as important as political power. Those responsible for the administration of justice are not even sure of their own safety, and they are supposed to protect your rights." Though she had once been imprisoned as a counterrevolutionary, she said that, despite doubts, "we need to trust them for what they have achieved." (HKS29S)

After making these statements, Lin was permitted to return to China briefly and reenter Hong Kong on a one-way permit. (HKS30S)

(Several articles on developments in the field of law will be found in 083267 and 083314)

14-REFUGEES

China has accepted more Indochinese refugees (270,000) than any country accept the United States (426,000). The net cost to the government has been \$560 million, not counting a \$40,000,000 subsidy from the United Nations. Many of the refugees in China are unhappy there and would like to go to the West. (See FEE 60 for an account of dissatisfaction with life on China's state farms.) However, after living for six months in a country a person loses transient status has no choice but remain. The several thousand who escaped from China to Hong Kong or Macao have been handed back to PRC authorities. (NYT19j)

16-MARRIAGE

The journal Qinghai Social Sciences (#5 1982) carried an article deploring the fact that many couples are required to live apart. However, Hebei RB (3 I 083360) carried a commentary on the article: While it is desirable for couples to live together, there are other considerations; the fact that a husband and wife live apart need not threaten the family.

New regulations concerning marriage between Chinese and foreigners were promulgated in August. It appears that the government intends to act faster on applications for such marriages. However, international marriages involving soldiers, diplomats and security agents will not be permitted. (BJ5 7S)

18-RELIGION

Confucianism. The teachings of Confucius are being given a more favorable reading, albeit with some reinterpretations. "Loyalty," it is now said, means "loyalty to the motherland." (BJ21J 083866)

"Normal religious activities" have reportedly been resumed in Tibet. There are 1,287 lamas in monasteries, 166 of them new (BJ 026A 083568). Lhasa is slated to have a Buddhist Theological Institute, which is to provide research and teaching of the various Buddhists sects in the region (BJ 025M 083854).

Two new Catholic theological seminaries have opened. One, in Peking, has sixty students (from among 200 applicants). It will train priests for the official catholic church in China, which is independent of Rome (31a81S). The second is in Wuhan (20321o). There have been two other such seminaries in Shanghai and Shenyang, and others are planned for the southwest and central-south China.

RESOURCES:

China Update 5, Autumn 1983. Articles on Christianity, China's population problem, and other subjects. N.p.
Ching Feng 26:1. A. Articles on Y. T. Wu, Kang Youwei, Christianity in China since 1975. (Tao Fong Shan, Shatin, HK.)

19-PRESS FREEDOM

People's Daily reports (with disapproval) that leftists in the Guangzhou's Jinan University Journalism Department are persecuting colleagues they consider rightists. (HKS27m)

In May the Chinese authorities announced "temporary regulations to control the activities of resident foreign correspondents." Journalists are forbidden to send reports to publications they do not formally represent. Change of a resident foreign correspondent must be approved by the Foreign Ministry 45 days in advance. All reporters were advised "not to go beyond the limit of normal news coverage." This "normal news coverage" has not been defined. (K9811M)

In mid September the authorities banned from newsstands an issue of Time magazine which had a cover story out China. Chinese rarely have access to the magazine anyway, which is sold at shops for foreigners. Subscription copies apparently were not affected. (NYT21S)

According to a Henan Party document, unacceptable audio and video recordings have been illegally imported from abroad and even broadcast. "Strictly forbidding the import, copying, selling and broadcast of reactionary, decadent, and vulgar tapes constitutes a serious struggle against decadent bourgeois ideology." (8811j)

RESOURCES:

An Zhier. "An Interview with an Enlightenment Society member in Guizhou" (in Chinese). Zhengming #66 A.
Fang Dan (interview with). "Is It Criminal to Carry Sexually-explicit Pictures into China?" (in Chinese). Baixing, no. 44, 16 March 83. Fifth and last in a series.

20-OTHER PARTIES

Red Flag (1A 083736) discussed the current status of China's non-communist ("democratic") parties. These parties are said to have been progressive (rather than purely bourgeois) even before 1949. Now they represent workers and advocate socialism. Therefore they deserve a place in the political order.

As we go to press, the parties are beginning to hold their national congresses (25826o).

On non-communist representation, see §00.

23-LABOR

China Link (j) carried a report to the effect that the government is taking steps to protect workers' rights. The Minister of Labor, Zhao Shouyi, has denounced the practice of enforced 12- to 17-hour shifts. "When enterprises' leaders violate state regulations and arbitrarily order overtime, directly endangering the workers' safety, the workers have the right to appeal to higher authorities or even to refuse the overtime."

The Hong Kong Association for Solidarity with the Chinese Democratic Movement (TTM POB 60071) has published a pamphlet entitled "Workers' Right to Strike is Now Abolished." It discusses the harsh working conditions in China (many examples cited), and workers' lack of rights.

In October the National Federation of Trade Unions revised the organization's constitution in a way that appears to open the possibility of strikes under certain limited circumstances. Although there is no direct reference to striking, where there are hazardous conditions unions may (according to their constitution) evacuate workers in defiance of company orders. According to Xinhua, there is also "the possibility of small scale, partial strikes--ones usually lasting for very short periods--breaking out spontaneously, mostly when the reasonable demands of workers are blocked after exhausting all normal means due to bureaucracy and unlawful practices." (NYT 240)

25-LIVING STANDARDS

--CHILDREN:

China's practice of discriminating against large families has raised problems in the case of twins. In a letter to a magazine, a mother complains: "Because my neither of my twins is an 'only child,' they cannot join in any activity which is organized for children of one-child families. Even though we did not intend to have twins, they are not entitled to enjoy preferential treatment as children of certified one-child families. Also, our economic burden has increased and our standard of living seems to have fallen below the level of one-child families. Children of one-child families receive ¥5 per month; my family is not only deprived of this allowance, but also must support more than one child. Our economic burden will be increased in the future when expenses for attending nursery school and grade school are not reimbursed." (BJ Wen Zhai Bao 95, 29j, citing Weiliang Haizi 7)

It is not clear whether Fujian first Party secretary Zhang Yimin had this problem in mind when he referred to discrimination against children. Zhang, speaking to a women's group, Zhang also decried female infanticide. (FJ7MB 083226)

--HEALTH:

Dr. George Hatem reports that the number of lepers in China have declined from 500,000 in 1950 to 200,000. (This compares with 3,000,000 now in India, and 4,000 in the United States.) But, according to the New York Times (31m), "Despite the Government's efforts to inform people that leprosy is only mildly infectious and can be cured, lepers are still ostracized, particularly in rural areas."

--FOOD:

The magazine Freedom at Issue (m) carried a sharp (and convincing) critique of China's agricultural policies, which are blamed for the continuing problem of Hunger in China: London, London & Lee, "Bread, Rice and Freedom: The Peasantry and Agriculture in the USSR and China."

26-EDUCATION

Although they are unlikely to enjoy much academic freedom, a number of "private" colleges have opened in Beijing and elsewhere. They are supported by a combination of government grants and tuition. At the Yanjing Foreign Language Institute, the tuition is ¥250 per year. Another private college is Xinghua College, which specializes in science and engineering. The democratic parties are said to be involved in some of these institutions. (XH15016a)

27-CULTURE

"China Youth" has criticized an entertainment troupe, saying that a female actor had snapped her fingers, swiveled her hips, and put herself in a man's arms. Observed the Los Angeles Times (15j), "By Western standards, the show sounds about as sexy as an Ed Sullivan re-run."

In March, a new historical play by Bai Hua premiered in Beijing. Bai was under a political cloud in recent years. (13MB 083259)

RESOURCES:

- Commentator. "Criticism Should be the Normal Order in Literature and Art." GM788j.
- Commentator. "Persistently Carry on the Struggle on Two Fronts in Literature and Art: Studying Important Views on Literature and Art Contained in the Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," Part Three." PD 9012a.
- Ding Zhenhai. "Truth in Life and Brilliance of Ideals." HQ 1A. 083736. How to write acceptable socialist literature.
- Findlay, Ian. "A Trail of Literary Corpses." FEE 21j.
- Hu Yaobang. "Uphold the Concept of One Divided Into Two." HQ 21 300 01N. Contains discussion of the Bai Hua case.
- Huai Bing. "Critique of Hu Yaobang's 'On Questions of Ideological and Political Work.'" Zhengming 64 F. 083369. Critique of the recent crackdown on artists and writers.
- Jaifin, Linda. "Writing the Truth in China." Asiaweek 29A. About the genre known as "literary reportage" (baogao wenxue).
- Li Di. "Some Questions About 'Modernization and the Modernists.'" BJ Wenyi Bao #11. 7N'82. 083203
- Min Chung. "Painter Attacked for Coming to Hong Kong: [Fujian provincial Party secretary] Xiang Nan Intervenes to Rescue Him." Ming Pao 6012a. The case of Zhang Ying.
- Qi Fang. "Socialist Literature and Art Under Open-door Conditions: Understanding Gained Through Studying 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping.'" GM 245070.
- Tao Yin. "'The Bai Hua Whom I Know' (in Chinese)." ZM 27, m.
- Wang Meng. "Some Discussion on the Question of Portraying Model Characters [in literature]." BJ Wenxue #12 10D'82. 083203
- Xiao Cheng. "Comment on and Introduction to Zhou Yang and Xia Yan's Two Recent Books." Zhengming 66, A 083646. Their liberalism viewed favorably.
- Ying Zi. "Interviewing Hong Kong Visitor Yen Nan about [his brother] Bai Hua." ZM #67 m.

HONG KONG

00-THE 1997 QUESTION

What China has in mind for Hong Kong after China takes over Hong Kong and "Harbor people rule the harbor" was implied by United Front leader Liao Chengzhi shortly before his death. Liao assured a businessman worried that he would be labeled a class enemy: "You certainly won't unless you engage in politics." (QN#2 083181)

However, Xu Jiatun, the local Xinhua director, has said that even rightists would be able to publish and criticize the Communist Party. His remarks were in response to a group of college students who noted: "To some rulers, stopping a mouth is more important than controlling a river." The students insisted that Hong Kong always have free speech, the right to strike, etc. (Wen Wei Bao 15SB)

05-CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The ban on the death penalty is to continue, despite a rising crime rate, according to Chief Secretary, Sir Philip Haddon-Cave. The crime rate in the colony has been rising, and there is some sentiment to restore capital punishment. Some officials have at various times recommended its restoration, but Sir Philip said that parliamentary opinion in Britain was opposed. (HKS28A)

In cases of serious crimes, judges have been handing down a number of death sentences (HKS 2, 6, 17j, SCM 7J). However, these are commonly commuted by the governor on the advice of the Executive Council (e.g. HKS 13j). As of the end of June, although no executions had taken place, 34 prisoners were on death row; another 85 had had their sentences commuted (HKS29J).

12-PRIVACY

Special legislation is being drawn up to prevent the misuse of computerized information. Of special concern is information which will be generated by the new electronic road pricing system, which will keep track of the location of automobiles. (HKS14m)

14-REFUGEES

Hong Kong has toughened its stand on the Vietnam refugee issue. Since July 1982, newcomers have been placed in closed camps on Lantau Island, where life is quite regimented. (Earlier arrivals are at more open camps, such as that at Kaitak, and can leave the grounds and go to work elsewhere.) The policy regarding new arrivals is to discourage others from coming at all. "We will take them in, but Hong Kong is running out of space," according to one official. "We needed to make clear that they are our uninvited guests, and to get word back to Vietnam that would discourage other boat people from coming here." There has even been talk of forcing refugees to return to Vietnam, but the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has insisted that any repatriation must be voluntary. The new policy appears to be working. During the first three months of this year, only 297 arrived, compared with 1,474 for the comparable period in 1982. The peak year was 1979, when 60,000 came. See also: China: §14. (NYT 28A, SCMP I 082816)

16-GAY RIGHTS

The Law Reform Commission has produced a 400-page report concluding that homosexual acts should be decriminalized (HKS 16m). However, public opinion appears to be opposed to the move (HKS 11S).

19-DEMONSTRATION

In September, police refused a request by the Liberty and Democracy Party to hold a small demonstration in downtown Hong Kong (Central). The group had hoped to arouse people's awareness of their political rights. The police based their refusal on traffic reasons. However, Party spokesperson Diamond Yun said the refusal was illegal. "The rejection means that the civil rights and the future of Hong Kong citizens are being buried. (HKS 13S)

27-THE ARTS

The government is forbidding even indirect references to the "1997" question in films. According to chief censor Pierre Lebrun, the basic tenet of political censorship was to avoid damaging "Hong Kong's good relations with other countries"--obviously meaning China. (HKS 19S)

RESOURCES:

Lo Ka. "The Social Climate and freedom in the Arts" (in Chinese). Baixing 16 F. Hong Kong authorities urged not to censor films, etc.
Scanlon, Charles. "1997 Taboo for HK Films: Movie Makers Come Up Against Latest Censor Edict." HKS 19S. Lengthy article about government practices and the negative reaction of film makers.

JAPAN

02-DISCRIMINATION

WOMEN.

The N Y Times (19J) carried a feature article concerning the problems of working women in Japan.

ALIENS.

The Nationality Committee of the Legislative Council has recommended that children of mixed marriages be able to select Japanese or foreign nationality at the age of 22 (JT 5F, 23M; AE 2F). Until now, assuming the father's nationality has been almost automatic.

It is very difficult to obtain Japanese citizenship, and "aliens" are the object of much discrimination and bureaucratic hassling. Particularly offensive is the requirement that aliens be fingerprinted. Citizens are not fingerprinted, and many of the "aliens" have lived in Japan for generations. (SCM 30D, HKS 31a, KH 26m)

See also §14, Refugees.

RESOURCES:

Buraku Liberation News 14. m. Burakus in Osaka. Discrimination in marriage. Sale of "Buraku Lists." Discrimination against Burakus in Buddhist circles. Women. UDHR Anniversary.

---, 15. j. Report of 38 General Meeting of Buraku Liberation League. BBL leader Zennosuke Asada obituary. Sayama protest. Talks with Buddhist leaders. Anti-Buraku Discrimination. [1-6-12, Kuboyoshi, Naniwa-ku, Osaka 556.]

05-CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Amnesty International (30 release) has urged Japan to end capital punishment. Although the legal provisions on the subject are being modified, AI was told that the new code would probably retain the death penalty for eight offenses, including murder. The death penalty was abolished in Japan for 346 years from 810 to 1156 AD during the Heian period, and is not currently enforced for many "capital offenses."

The government continues to demand the death penalty in serious cases (e.g. murderer Norio Nagayama, AE 25A), and such sentences are sometimes handed down (e.g. murderer Katsuhisa Omori, AE 30m). In several cases, people on death row (for 33 years in one case) have been granted retrials or set free. But AI knows of 50 people still awaiting execution. (AI Newsletter 5)

14-REFUGEES

The Japanese government is showing greater flexibility toward refugees; some Indochinese, formerly detained, have been paroled (JT 17F; AE 4F, 6,19A). The government is also taking steps to help "air people"--those who had first fled to Taiwan but did not want to live under the KMT and subsequently flew to Japan (AE 4A).

23-UNIONS

A Japanese employee of the Chartered Bank sued his employer claiming that he was discriminated against because he was a union member. (AE 19m)

MONGOLIA

RESOURCE:

Carrothers, Alistair. "Mongolia: Weeds." Index on Censorship, A. Article about the punishment of MPR academics because of their independent views.

SOUTH KOREA

00-GENERAL

RESOURCES:

Human Rights in the Republic of Korea: communication presented to the United Nations. Issued by the Society of Families and Compatriots, and the Japanese National Council. Available from Human Rights Institute, 2-8-12 Minami Ikebukuro Toshima-ku, Tokyo. Contains information on security laws, political prisoners, etc.

Kennedy, Edw. "The Fight for Democracy and Human Rights in South Korea" Cong'l Record. 129:74 26m. Korea Communiqué, 47. 30A. Editorial: US, Chun, and Korea's Future. Commutation in Pusan Arson case. Student protests. Kwangju remembered. Labor: Control Data and Wuonpoong cases.

Documents: National Liberation Front and Choi Suk-jin cases. Detainees' health. Church human rights declaration. Koh Young-keun's sermons. Constitution.

---, 48. 30j. Editorial: "An end to Violence." Kim Young-sam's fast (extensive documentation). Songam Church Incident. Kwangju (commentary and updates). Taejon Minjung Church. Wuonpoong Labor Unions (Hunger Strikes, trial). Student arrest. Pusan Arson update. Prisoners of Conscience: List. Underground report from Seoul. Feminism. Kim Dae-jung. [c/o NCC-Japan, Tsutomu Shoji, #24, 2-3-18, Nishi Waseda, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160.] Korea Scope, 3:1. M. Entire issue devoted to Kim Dae Jung. [POB 904, New York 10027] Korea Update, 14 S. [110 Maryland Ave NE Washington 20002.] Monthly Review of Korean Affairs 5:2. m/A. Text of Kim Dae Jung's speech at Harvard University. [POB 3657, Arlington 22203 US] ---. 5:3 m. Kim Dae Jung, "Christianity, Human Rights, and Democracy in Korea." ---. 5:4 J/j. Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae Jung, "Message on the Occasion of Korean Independence Day, August 15." Moon Ik-Hwan. "A Christian Dissident Discusses Korea's Future." AWJ 8M Moon, Cyris H. "Minjung Theology." Ching Feng A. On populist Christianity in South Korea. Schiffman, James R. "Seoul's Hard Line on Dissent Fans Anti-U.S. Feeling." AWJ 11A.

05-TORTURE

South Korea's opposition members of the National Assembly have been pressing the authorities on the question of torture by police. Also, Korean Catholics have asserted that the government had broken its promise to end the practice. (SCM19A)

09-POLITICAL PRISONERS

A significant number of South Korean political prisoners have been released.

MAY: Former opposition leader Kim Young-sam, who had been on a hunger strike for 13 days, was released. He had been under house arrest for a year. (NYT31m)

AUGUST: The government announced a major commutation. The number of political prisoners released was put at 134; 10 other's sentences were lightened. (Most of those affected had been involved in anti-government demonstrations.) The death sentence of publisher Lee Tae-bok was commuted to 20 years. (R/HKS 12a)

But political arrests have continued.

APRIL. Seoul Police said they had arrested ten leaders of an anti-chun demonstration at Yonsei University in April (NYT22A).

MAY. The headquarters of a civil rights organization was stormed by about 200 plainclothesmen; three people, including human rights leader Moon Ik Hwan, were arrested. (SCM 31m, NYT 1J, HKS 1J). Five people were arrested for allegedly spying for North Korea--a frequent bogus charge (KH 27M). Six women students were arrested at Sungkyung-kwan University (KH 27m). On May 24, Korea University students Soh Ho-jun and Chong Dok-su were arrested on charges of illegal assembly and demonstration

(KH 19m). On May 31, three civil rights leaders were arrested: Moon Ik-hwan, Ye Chun-ho and Ham Sok-hon (HKS 1J). Moon, a Presbyterian minister, had been jailed once before along with Kim Dai-jung. On the same day, three Sogang University students, Kim Sang-ok, Kang Hi-dong and Lee Tae-yong, were given 2- to 3-year sentences in connection with demonstrations (KH1J).

JUNE: At least 15 Seoul college students were arrested for leafletting or demonstrating (KH J:1 3 12 5 9). On 18 June, Kim Dok-yong, the secretary of Kim Hong-sam was arrested (KH 18J, SCM 18J); on June 28 he was indicted for illegal political activities, including giving leaflets critical of the government to Koran and foreign newsmen (29J). On June 25, Moon Boo-sik, former member of parliament, was imprisoned for at least 10 days (SCM 26J, NYT 26J).

JULY: Kim Chol-gi, general secretary of the Ecumenical Youth Council, was taken in and charged with distributing political leaflets; Kim had criticized the government in connection with the closing down of a Control Data factory. The Kwangju Appellate Court extended the sentences of defendants in the "osong-hoe" case. Kim Se-hong was sentenced to two years on illegal assembly and demonstration charges.

Between January and early July, 130 student protesters had been arrested (SCM 10J).

AUGUST: Kim Sung-Shik was arrested in Taejon for illegal leafletting (13a).

SEPT: Three Yonsei University students were arrested and charged with illegal assembly. Kim Hwan-gi, Chang Yong-sok and Koh Do-gon were suspected of playing leading roles in campus demonstrations (KH 215). A few days later there was another demonstration at the university, and five were detained (HKS 30S).

Three Soongjun Univ. students, So Yu-jin, Yun Sok-ho and Yung Song-hwan, were sentenced to 28 months for illegal assembly and demonstration (KH25S).

Nine Sungkyunkwan University students, including Suh Bom-sok, were sentenced to 1½ to 3 year prison terms on illegally assembly charges (KH 29S).

Park Seok Youl (life term) has also been given medial attention. Park and Kim Young-sam have been the object of an international campaign by the Center for the Progress of Peoples (48 Princess Margaret Rd, Kowloon HK).

In July, Amnesty International highlighted the case of Lee Chul, serving a 20-year prison sentence for "espionage" and "anti-state activities" since 1975. He is said to have "confessed" under torture. There is independent evidence that he was in Japan when the Seoul authorities claim he was in North Korea. (Amnesty Action j)

RESOURCES:

"Free the Soh Brothers." Pamphlet about ROK political prisoners Soh Joon-Shik and Soh Sung. [Makoto Nishimura, 645 Sarashiya-cho, Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto.] People's Korea, The. 150. A pro-North Korean weekly containing a "to-be-continued" list of 234 South Korean "Prisoners of Conscience as of May 10." Details about background, where held, etc., given on each individual. [Tsukudo-Hachiman-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo.]

23-LABOR

The Seoul government brutally suppressed labor activities at Control Data, sentencing three women workers to death (Amnesty Internat'l, Labor News 21M).

A strike at the Wonpoong Textile factory was broken up in September, and eight union leaders were arrested (Asialink j).

TAIWAN

OO-GENERAL

Despite rumors to the contrary being circulated by the American Institute in Taiwan, the Chinese Nationalists are insisting that martial law will continue. In answer to a question from legislator Su Chiu-cheng, Interior Minister Lin Yang-kang said on October 11 that it would be "inappropriate to speak lightly" of taking such a step. "It is not a good time for talking about lifting martial law." Lin also spoke in opposition to making the National Assembly more representative. He warned against trying to alter the internal political situation "according to political theories learned in school." Changing the system, he said, would be like untangling a ball of string: "the more you try to untangle it, the more tangled you get." (12820a)

HIJACKERS: The Taiwan authorities continue to insist that plane hijackers from the PRC are legitimate human rights cases, even when they have engaged in mayhem. The ROC ambassador in Seoul protested the "severe sentences" given the six Chinese who hijacked a plane to South Korea. "The case of the six Chinese nationals is clearly not a criminal case of hijacking but a highly political [case] of defection to freedom." (20322a)

RESOURCES:

Chen Pi-sheng. "Civilian Officials, Party Workers, Military Secret Agents--On the Power Core of the KMT." QN 6:1 F. 083181. Asserts that the role of the military is expanding in Taiwan.

Lo Ch'iu-hsueh. "The Challenge of Non-party Forces in Taiwan." Zhengming #64 F. 083259. Contains information about imprisoned writers (Wang T'o, Yang Ch'ing-ch'u), the state of independent magazines, etc.

Minzhu Taiwan (Democratic Taiwan), #30, j. Articles of a general nature, from a leftist perspective, about the democratic movements in Taiwan and the PRC. (POB 53551, Chicago 60653)

Solarz, Stephen J. "Democracy and the Future of Taiwan." Congressional Record 129:123, 22 S. Text of August speech by the head of the House Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs, delivered in Taiwan. Urges greater respect for human rights.

Sheng gen (Senh-kin). Recent issues of this Taiwanese magazine have contained numerous articles pertaining to human rights. E.g. there have been pieces on prisoner Chen Chü (10S), the election process (10a), and Fang Su-min (wife of imprisoned Lin Yi-hsiung).

Taiwan Communiqué, #11. Review of State Department's report on human rights conditions in Taiwan. Political prisoners Yang Chin-hai, Yang Huang-hsi, Lü Hsiu-yi, and others. Lack of press freedom. [POB 5205 Seattle WA.]

---, #12. More on press problems. Elections. Martial law. Prisoners: Chang Chün-hung. Conditions at Hsintien and Jen-ai.

---, #13. Lack of religious freedom. On Hsu Jung-shu and Chou Ch'ing-yü (both legislators and wives of political prisoners). Prisoners: Yang Chin-hai, Chang Ming-ch'uan. Details of 74 prisoners at Green Island, 81 at Jen-ai. Press: List of periodicals banned, suspended or confiscated.

05-CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

This summer more death sentences were meted out to convicted criminals. (HKS 7, 15J)

09-POLIT. PRISONERS

Fan Wen, 27, and another person surnamed Lin, were arrested in July as "spies" for the PRC (AFP 28329J). Fang is a graduate of the Taipei Institute of Technology, and is the son of Rear Admiral Fang Chang-hsiung.

Some of Taiwan's prisoners of conscience have been released. Five were reported freed in March: Koo Chien (a Filipino-Chinese; Aw 25M), Wang Ju-shan, Wang Wei-ching, Li Kuo-min and Wu Yueh-ming (Min Chu Jen 16323M). All five had been in prison for more than 30 years. In October, the Independent Evening News (20821) reported that 33 of the Kaohsiung Incident (1980) prisoners were released, but that number has not been confirmed. We understand that the following have been released: Yang Ch'ing-ch'ü (see Sh 4/5 & 18, and Taiwan Tribune 190), Yu Ah-hsing, and Chiu Chiu-chen. The three were released before the expiration of their terms.

Rev. Kao Chun-ming, head of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church, fasted during the first week of September in support of fellow Presbyterian prisoner Lin Wen-chen. Ms Lin is seriously ill and in need of medical treatment. (SCM 23S)

Taiwan's opposition magazine Senh-kin (10 Sept) contains a lengthy article about Ch'en Chü entitled "Yungyuan de dang-gong" [Political work forever]. Ch'en used to be the secretary of the now-exiled Taiwanese leader Kuo Yü-hsin, and is a member of the board of directors of SPEAHR/International. She was also an active member of the Formosa Magazine staff and was local organizer for the 1979 human rights demonstration in Kaohsiung which the magazine sponsored. For her role on that occasion, she is now serving a 12-year prison sentence.

The author of that article is T'ien Ch'iu-chin. Ms T'ien was secretary to Provincial Legislator Lin Yi-hsiung, who is also in prison in connection with the same incident.

Copies of the article (in Chinese) are available from SPEAHR, POB 1212, New York 10025 USA. US: Please send an addressed envelope (long) bearing 37¢ postage. Foreign: Send \$1.

RESOURCE:

Chen Ku-ying. "Fiery Island: Imprisoned for a Third of a Century" (in Chinese). Tai-wan yü shih-chieh, #1, J. About the long-term political prisoners in Green Island Prison.

18-LAW ON CHURCHES

The Chinese Nationalists have circulated a draft law which would govern churches and temples in Taiwan. The main target appears to be the obstreperous Presbyterian Church. Critics claim that the law would affect church property, and interfere with the selection and actions of ministers. One somewhat ambiguous clause might preclude the use of foreign languages, presumably including Latin. (Chinese text: Taiwan Church News [272-1 Youth Rd., Tainan] 12 June. Translation: Formosan Association for Human Rights Newsletter [POB 223, New York 10116], 4 Aug. Commentaries: *ibid.*, and TCN 10 & 17 July.)

RESOURCE:

Taiwan Church News (in Chinese), and the paper's English-language Occasional Bulletin. The April-July issue of the latter contains information about the imprisoned Presbyterian leader Kao Chun-ming, government pressure on the Presbyterians among the mountain people, etc. [272-1 Youth Road, Tainan]

19-PRESS

Taiwan's press continues to be tightly controlled by the Chinese Nationalists (KMT). However, top news manager James Soong has denied that there was a ban on the establishment of new newspapers (China Post A 083433). He did admit that permits would be required, and that no permits would be granted. Commented FEE (5M): Soong's logic is "truly Byzantine."

Time Magazine (5S) carried a report that Benigno Aquino had been contacted by the Taiwan Garrison Command just before his assassination in the Philippines. The TGC, which administers Taiwan's martial law, has vigorously denied the allegation. However, just before his death Aquino told an ABC correspondent that he had indeed been briefly "escorted" by TGC men including one general (NYT 160 §6 p41).

Aquino, the Philippines' leading opposition leader, flew from Taipei to Manila on a Chinese Nationalist commercial airliner (allegedly with a false passport under an assumed name). He did not announce what flight he would take. Nonetheless, the assassin knew exactly when he would arrive. To some, it was all suggestive of the murder of the mathematician Ch'en Wen-ch'eng immediately after his "interview" with the TGC. In the Aquino case, however, this is purely speculation.

Philippine authorities have implied that the Taiwan authorities are in some way implicated in the murder. Thus, they have suspended flights to Manila by the Taiwan flag carrier. ✕

Although unofficial Taiwanese publications are permitted, they are under constant threat of closure if editors are not careful.

Below is a list of magazines which have been:

- Banned (sale of an issue prohibited),
- Censored (portions deleted or blackened out),
- Prohibited (suspended---usually for one year),
- Seized (one issue confiscated by authorities).

Month / Magazine / Measure / Offending article on:

1982

F Cultivate #6 B Chen Wen-cheng; prison cond'ns.
 F Politician #23 B K'ang Ning-hsiang.
 A Care #6 B
 m Cultivate #10 B
 J Cultivate #11 B
 J Cultivate #12 B
 J Tide #6 B
 J Vertical-Horizontal #15 B
 J National Affairs #11 B
 J Ocean Tide P Relations with PRC
 j Vertical-Horizontal #16 B
 j National Affairs P
 a Vertical-Horizontal #17 B Relations with PRC
 o Taiwan Panorama #2 S New party formation.
 o Vertical-Horizontal #19 C
 o Politician #40 S Democratization, succession.
 o Ming Jen #7 B New party formation.
 o Tai Yi-shih #7 S New party, int'l isolation.
 N Care #11 B Prison conditions and torture.
 N Politician P
 N Ming Jen #8 B
 D Cultivate #23 C
 D Ming Jen #9 S
 22 D Taiwan Panorama S Human rights.
 31 D Taiwan Panorama P

1983

I Vertical-Horizontal #22 B Pres'l succession.
 I Opposition #1 P
 F Cultivate #28 S Feb. 28, 1947 incident.
 M Vertical-Horizontal #24 C Article by Victor Lee
 M Cultivate P
 M Asian #22 B Lei Chen.
 M The Eighties #32 S Two transl. Amer. articles.
 A The Eighties P
 A Senh-kin #6 S Constitution.
 A Progress #3 B Lin Yi-hsiung; Wang Sheng.
 A Ming Jen #12 S
 m Political Monitor #5 S Pres'l succession.
 m Senh Kin #9 S Edward Kennedy statement.
 J Care #18 S List: Jen Ai. pol. prisoners
 J Ming Jen #14 B
 j Progress #15 S Articles about Hong Kong young professionals group visit to China and Taiwan.
 j Progress #17 S Yen Chia-kang.
 j Ming Jen P
 a Care #20 S Speech by Chou Ching-yü.
 a Progress P
 a Senh-kin #14 B Speech by Hsu Jung-shu
 a Vertical-Horizontal #8 C Political criticism.
 a Progressive Forum B Reported that TGC head had met with Aquino before latter's assassination.
 S Progressive Forum S More on same.

A special regulation has been imposed on aliens. Foreigners will be expelled from the country or imprisoned, the government states, "if they are found publishing inadequate articles or making unfriendly remarks intending to slander the government." (8812m)

21-ELECTIONS

The already restrictive elections law (see Sh 9) have been further tightened. Restrictions are placed on the amount and sources of candidates' funds. Would-be candidates must submit "proper certificates of education and experience." Office-seekers may only campaign during a very limited period and are limited as to the number of allowable posters, campaign vehicles, etc. (All this affects pro-government candidates little, because all newspapers promote the KMT even before the campaign period.) Control Yuan members are to be elected on the basis of "limited voting." (FCW 3J; 29830J)

USSR

02-SOVIET MINORITIES

Soviet Asian ethnic minorities find themselves seriously disadvantaged if they do not speak Russian, according to a report by John Burns in the NY Times (4J). A knowledge of Russian may be required even to buy a railway ticket in places like Alma Alta, the capital of Kazakhstan.

Half of the USSR's people are non-Russian, and the Soviet constitution guarantees equal rights to citizens of the various nationalities. However roughly 3 out of 5 non-Russians are now fluent in Russian. Many of the republics have the local language as the official language, but Party head Yuri Andropov has stressed that the study of Russian is "an objective necessity and requirement for every citizen." Lack of knowledge of Russian has been a problem, particularly in the army, whose recruits are mostly from Central Asia and often do not understand Russian.

On October 3, the N Y Times published a lengthy article on the subject of the "60,000" Koreans who have been held on Sakhalin since World War II. Because of international legal questions, they have not been able to go either to Japan or Korea, and most are stateless. The account followed by a few days a letter-to-the-editor from Felice Gaer of the International League for Human Rights decrying the condition of these people, whose number was put at 35,000.

The Japan Federation of Bar Associations has appealed various governments and the UN to work for the repatriation of these Koreans (AE 4F).

State Speaks

Last winter the U.S. Department of State published its annual survey called "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982." The report is required by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (§§115, 502). Once the report only covered aid recipients, but this had the unfortunate effect of exempting from scrutiny those governments which had such poor relations with the U.S. that they received no aid--often the most serious human rights violators. Now, the report is a massive tome (1323 pages) covering nearly every country.

The first drafts of the individual country reports are usually written by professionals in the U.S. embassy of the countries concerned. However, once the reports are sent back to the State Department, they are usually revised. Sometimes this is a normal editing process. But sometimes, as one foreign service officer acknowledged to SPEAHR, reports are influenced by the strength of various political constituencies in the United States.

We find the discussions of the communist countries of East Asia, and also of Japan, to be objective and balanced. Of China it is noted that "though the overall trend has been generally towards a more open society, the political structure has continued to impose significant restrictions on individual rights and freedom." That statement about the "overall trend" is acceptable if one takes the long view, though some readers might conclude that the human rights situation was better in 1982 than in the immediately preceding years, which it was not. The report is right on target when it notes: "The fact that...anti-dissent campaigns were not repeated in 1982 can be attributed not to a softening of official attitudes, but to the effectiveness of the 1979-81 drives, which largely succeeded in silencing the small dissident movement." Slight optimism is voiced regarding the future: "If China's leaders stick to their present course, emphasizing economic development--including the policy of opening to the outside--there are reasonable prospects for a continued relaxation of controls in some areas, although the ban on fundamental political dissent will continue." Nonetheless, it is heartening to note that there were no reports of torture.

The U.S. does not have diplomatic relations with the other two communist countries of the area, and the accounts of human rights in these very closed societies are sketchy. North Koreans are described as "subject to rigid control measures. Persons who fail to cooperate with the regime face imprisonment, confiscation of property, or enforced removal to remote villages." On the subject of torture, the report cites the experience of Ali Lamada (see his account in SPEAHRhead 3) and the USS Pueblo crew, more recent information being unavailable. In Mongolia: "Life and society are tightly controlled.... In effect, individual civil and political liberties do not exist, and there is nothing to indicate that this situation is likely to change in the foreseeable future." One has to agree, but also wonder why the outlook is so much

gloomier here than in China. Is it possible that our perceptions are colored by hopes (or lack thereof) for improvements in bilateral relations?

Japan is justifiably given high marks, although a few questions in the areas of minority groups and women's rights are raised. The problems of refugees are perhaps given short shrift.

The reports South Korea and Taiwan are soft. The two governments' claims that external threats justify human rights deprivation go unchallenged.

In its report on the Republic of Korea, the department gives much more credence to the rights guaranteed by that country's Constitution (and shows much more tolerance towards abuses of those rights) than is the case in its analysis of the situation in the DPRK. One presumes that the reasons for this disparity are ideological. Whereas the DPRK is aptly characterized as a "rigid Communist dictatorship," we are shown a South Korea where simply "the presidency, with the support of the country's military establishment, is the focus of power." The old Pueblo and Lameda affairs are trotted out as "generally indicative of the human rights situation in North Korea today." Recent and extensive reports of torture and abuse in South Korean prisons, while acknowledged, are downplayed as "atypical."

The contrasting descriptions of the electoral systems of the two countries are another marvel of semantic manipulation: The validity of North Korea's pro forma elections is flatly discounted (and rightly so); on the other hand, after noting the dissolution of South Korea's political parties, the State Department states, "With the exception of 567 persons..., Koreans are free to belong to and participate in the activities of political parties." The report finds no fault with the more convoluted aspects of the new South Korean electoral laws, though it blandly notes that "two-thirds of [the National Assembly] seats [are] awarded to the party which gains a plurality [!] of the popular vote."

While it is difficult to catch the State Department in errors of fact, one wonders why it pays so little attention to the facts it has in hand. In the South Korea report, the number of political prisoners is estimated at between 300 and 400, but no mention is made of the fact that this number is greater than at any time during Park Chung Hee's régime. With all the instances of abuses of human rights catalogued within the report itself, it is hard to accept the conclusion that "no particular pattern or long-term trend is evident."

Greater optimism is expressed in the case of Taiwan. Here, State runs into more trouble. The shortcomings of this chapter have been well stated in Taiwan Communiqué, no. 11.* To their critique we would only add one note. The State Department observes that according to a new law, prisoners have the right to legal counsel during the investigation of their cases. The implication of this is that it would lessen the chances of torture. What the report ignores is the fact that the new provision does not apply to people arrested under martial law. It is precisely the martial law detainees who are most likely to be tortured. x

*Available for \$4 from Postbus 31, 3984 ZG ODIJK, Netherlands.

THE STORY OF

Huang Hua

Huang Hua is a Taiwanese advocate of political reform, currently serving a ten-year prison sentence. The following article appeared in the July 25 issue of Senh Kin. The translation is by Wunan Lin.

By LIN HUI-CHING

On New West Street, in the city of Keelung, there is an eighty-year blind woman who waits day in and day out for the return of her son. She is Huang Liao-yu, and the son she awaits in her darkness is Huang Hua.

During Huang Hua's earlier imprisonment, Mrs. Huang used to go to Green Island Prison to visit him. Even though she was already old and weak, she did this three times a week, not caring about the difficulty of the journey. Now, blind and ill, she can no longer visit him, but can only wait at home. Still, as long as she is alive, she won't give up the hope that Huang Hua will someday come home.

Huang Hua's tragedy is the tragedy of Taiwan. A three-time prisoner of conscience [literally: "unsurpassed thought prisoner"], having once served in a correctional institute and twice in prison on charges of "rebellion." Actually, this young upstart's real malfeasance was his advocacy of democracy and his desire to be a candidate against the Kuomintang.

Huang Hua's original name was Huang Ming-chung. He took the character "hua" from Chung-hua [China] to show his love for Chinese culture. This change, while it may have fulfilled a youthful dream, turned out to be "the first step of a mistake." It is ironic that the self-proclaimed orthodox Kuomintang--the successors to the ancient sages Yao, Shun, Yü, Wen, Wu, the Duke of Chou, Confucius, et al.--do not like this young man named "Hua." Indeed, Huang Hua's attachment to prison life began at a young age. By now he has twice been adopted by Amnesty International as a Prisoner of Conscience.

Huang's parents went to China when Taiwan was under Japanese rule. They had a successful textile business in Fujian. After the Marco Polo Bridge incident they were forced to close down their business and return to Taiwan. Not long thereafter, all their property was seized by soldiers and refugees. Hua was born in 1939, two years after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. His father then went to Dairen (Dalian) as a Japanese immigrant, to engage in a tea and herb business. His mother went along. They travelled frequently between Taiwan and Manchuria. The tales that he would hear from his parents about Manchuria, combined with his rich imagination, naturally made an impression on his young mind, and he took Manchuria as his second homeland.

Instilled with affection for China from such an early age, Huang has been interested in every

aspect of the mainland. His Mandarin pronunciation is probably better than that of people from the mainland [waisheng ren]. Because of his accent, he was the first in a speech contest in the "Green Island University" [i.e., prison]. He got along well with those of his fellow inmates who came from the mainland, who liked him.

Huang Hua's childhood love for the mother country was completely due to his parent's ethnic identity during the period of Japanese rule. His conflict with the Kuomintang began when he was only 20, and one does not know whether his affection for China had deepened or weakened as he grew up. Since then there has been little opportunity for him to express such affection, as he has been exhausted by being shuttled in and out of prison. However, no rational person can believe the prosecution's charges at his court martial that he had advocated separation [from China], and was prejudiced against mainlanders. Anyone who has known Huang Hua can testify that he has no such problems. After all, he is a great admirer of [such mainlanders as] Hu Shih, Lei Chen and Yin Hai-kuang.

YOUNG ENGINEER

The family seems chased by fate, for they always lose everything due to changes in the political situation of China.

Huang family's hard-won earnings in Manchuria were lost to the Communists. After they returned to Taiwan, they were so poor that Huang Hua became a street vendor, selling clothing when he was in the fifth grade. Then he took an evening janitorial job in Cheng-yen Junior High School. His formal education was discontinued after the seventh grade, on the death of his father. Then came the "8-2-3 shelling" of Quemoy by the Communists. His strong belief in [Sun Yat-sen's] Three People's Principles prompted him to write in blood a letter to the then minister of defense, Huang Chen, thereby demonstrating his determination to enroll in a sergeants academy. Huang Chen gave him special permission to take the entrance examination. Huang Hua passed it, and became a little revolutionary soldier. But there is a limit to what one can learn in a sergeants academy, and Huang faced an uncertain future. He put in the required number of years in the army, and then was discharged.

After leaving the army, Huang Hua wrote a letter to Ch'ien Sze-liang, then president of Taiwan University. In the letter, he requested permission to work and audit classes in the university. Ch'ien, touched by Huang's determination to improve himself, helped him find a position in the library. This was to be a period of "rapid progress" for Huang. Besides auditing, he also studied English with a Catholic priest. Thus, he gained a basic knowledge of English, mathematics and science. Once, when several Americans invited Huang Hua and some other students from Taiwan University for dinner, Huang was the only one who could speak English. To one with only one year of semiformal English training, it was quite an accomplishment.

When he was 21, Huang Hua took the recruiting examination for assistant engineer at the Pacific Cable Company. His outstanding knowledge placed him ahead of a hundred college graduates. Soon after he

took up the post, he was struck by the fact that there was no labor union. He quietly drafted bylaws for one, hoping that soon a labor union could be established so that he could actually assume responsibility for the workers' well-being. Of course, under the Kuomintang, it is not so easy to establish a union. The union that the KMT wanted was not the workers' union that Huang dreamt of. A union was supposed to be timorous, and have KMT and corporate as well as worker representation. A few days after he submitted his bylaws, it was rejected by the company. A union was established later on, but it was totally different from what Huang had in mind. But with the unionizing effort on his record, his tenure with the company was destined to be short. At any rate, his interests ran in the direction of electoral politics. These conflicting ambitions resulted in his being fired.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Unemployed, Huang Hua tried to open an "underground supplemental school." Either at home or in a rented room, he helped several junior high school students improve their English. He lived on the fees that their parents paid him. This is the only "illegal" thing that Huang has ever done. But twenty years ago, no one considered anything wrong with setting up such a "school."

In 1960, his elder brother, Ming-t'an, ran for a seat in the Keelung city council. Hua formally participated in the campaign as his assistant. At that time, Lei Chen and others were talking about forming a "China Democratic Party." In Keelung, Huang Hua eagerly echoed the sentiment. He always had a number of young followers, who stayed in his home.

In 1962, Lei Chen was arrested. The "China Democratic Party" was aborted. Most of the new activists abruptly ceased their activities, but Huang Hua, like "a newborn calf unafraid of tigers," stayed in the business of party-forming. He drew up a proposed structure for a "China Freedom Party," complete with bylaws. He also planned to organize a rally with speeches in Keelung. If it had not been stopped by the investigation and police officers, Huang would have actually stepped forward and formed the party. "No sooner said than done," is his way.

Thereafter, Huang Hua became a target of official investigation. His every move was closely watched by the police. There were always two plainclothesmen watching his home. He had no privacy, and nothing could be said in secret.

LITTLE LIU-CH'IU

In 1963, Huang Hua intended to run for a seat in the Taiwan provincial Assembly. He lacked funds, however, so instead he joined the campaign staff of Kuo Fa-jen. Huang organized the first "private" [not government-approved] campaign speech in Keelung. His efforts had a real effect on the election.

Shortly thereafter, the sixth city council of Keelung had to be reelected. This time, Huang decided to run himself. He planned everything, obtained candidacy forms, and waited for the

election to begin. But the second day after he obtained the forms he was arrested and charged with "violating public rules." The next day he was sent to the Correctional Institute on Little Liu-ch'iu Island. As far as police efficiency was concerned, all records had been broken.

Huang's "violating police rules" was laughable--it was "blackmailing someone for \$1.50."

(As a result, someone criticized the low quality of the Keelung police: They could not even make up a good false charge, so how could they investigate any more?) The facts: On the day in question, a man suddenly ran up to Huang and beat him. Though Huang had not wanted to fight back, he subsequently wanted to clear up the mystery of the attack. He went to the police station, only to be told that he had blackmailed the man for NT\$60 (US\$1.50).



HUANG HUA

The day after his arrest, Huang was charged with being a "first-degree hoodlum [liu-mang]." The "reasons:" He had been a "dead beat" in a restaurant and a hotel, and he had run an "underground school." The restaurant incident stemmed from an incident when Huang happened to be in a restaurant and was asked to join a party

celebrating the birthday of his friend. The friend insisted that he join the party. Huang, an easy-going man, is not one to refuse such an invitation. Regarding the hotel incident, a friend whom Huang had met during a provincial council campaign invited him to go south with him. This friend paid the hotel bill. As for the "underground school," Huang had applied for a license to open the school, and the police had approved the application. The only unresolved issues involved negotiation the rent with the landlord. Until his arrest, there was no indication of Huang being a "hoodlum." Huang's mother had tape-recorded statements by all the witnesses. Unfortunately, the police had the power to sentence a person to a correctional institute without a trial.

Twelve days later, every major newspaper in Keelung reported that Huang Hua's registered address was not in Keelung, implying that he could not be a candidate. However, earlier that day, old Mrs. Huang had received a copy of the election inspector's report which the district attorney's office sent to Huang Hua. Old Mrs. Huang angrily went

to the city hall to demand why, if Hua's address had never been changed, city hall had reported that he had moved? If he had moved, why did not the head of the family know? The clerk in the family registration office could not answer her questions. Later, they privately told relatives that they were not allowed to say what had happened.

"NEWS COMMENTARY"

Huang Hua spent more than two and a half years at Little Liu-ch'iu. Actually, he was not "corrected," but instead while he was there he corrected others. This "hoodlum" served his term admirably. Frequently he was sent to teach "news commentary" class for the troops stationed on the island. He also tutored officer's children in English. Although he did this without pay, he earned much respect. One thing that made it all less than ideal, though, was that whenever there was a visitor to the institute, Huang, Lin Shao-ch'uan [sic. Lin Shui-ch'uan?] and Ma Cheng-hai, the three "big political hoodlums," had to be evacuated so that they did not give a "bad impression."

Originally, Huang's pursuing of democracy was based on his simple belief in the Three Peoples' Principles. During his correctional term, in order to prepare for classes, he carefully read some books on political theory. Because of this, he gained more knowledge on democracy and the Three People's Principles. His belief in democracy and the Principles was simple and unchanging. Reading more theory did not change his pure character at all. The correction officers wanted him to join the Kuomintang. Characteristically, he lived up to his beliefs and refused. This refusal determined what he would face after his release from the institute.

REBEL SUSPECT

In 1966, after his release from Liu-Ch'iu, Huang Hua tried to find a job. Although he would have settled for anything, his efforts were upset by the police. So he had to go back to tutoring.

Huang had not lost his passion for politics. He was always welcome wherever he went. Soon he knew a group of young men who also loved democracy. They planned to "do something" together.

The next year they formed the "National Young People's Unity Association," and planned to participate in the coming election. The new organization gradually came to have substantial political influence. However, these naive youths did not know that one of the most militant among them, one Ch'en, was a KMT informer. More than a hundred people were arrested and imprisoned. After Huang's arrest, some of his students went to his home to look for him. When they learned that he had been taken away by the police, some of them cried.

Huang was convicted of three charges and sentenced to ten years in prison. He knew that it was no use appealing, and gave up exercising his right to do so. Others in the case did appeal--and received a sentence of two extra years as a result. Due to Huang's passive nature, he was spared this "weird" sentence, and for this was envied by the other defendants.

Huang is a "master of meditation." It is said that his "jen" and "du" veins were once opened. (This facilitates mastery the martial arts.) Every day he meditated for two hours, one in the morning and one before retiring. When he was meditating, his roommates would all try not to disturb his peace. It is clear that he gained respect because of his love of helping others. In prison he was popular, worked hard, and never quarrelled with his fellow inmates. Such people are rare in a small, complex community.

Both because he knows how to take care of himself and because he has avoided conflict, Huang looks younger than his real age by about ten years. Normally, a prisoner got similar treatment to that of an army private. But these prisoners' nutrition was very poor and the cells were damp, usually adversely affecting the men's health. Huang, however, was an exception.

He also taught his cellmates "900 English sentence patterns." As a result, the place was filled with the sounds of "wind, rain, and reading." Once a youthful offender wanted to read English. Huang reconstructed from memory six books of the "Far East English Reader" series.

In or out of prison, Huang is a pacifist. He seldom argues with those with different political ideas. Any little debate always ends with a laugh. Nor did he ever fight with the prison administration. If the Kuomintang reflected, they might well wonder why they ever jailed such a peaceful man.

AGAIN: REBEL SUSPECT

In 1975 Huang Hua's remaining two-year sentence was commuted. Although he was now 36 years old, he looked young and uncomplicated, as if he was fresh out of college.

But he was still keen about promoting political reforms. As long as he could contribute something, he was unafraid of getting hurt. As soon as he regained his freedom, he went to help Kuo Yü-hsin's campaign for a seat in the national legislature. He worked so hard that his colleagues were deeply moved. Once several friends sent him a good-quality windbreaker. He was so happy that he wore it all the time, rain or shine.

After Kuo's defeat, Huang joined the Taiwan Political Review as Associate Chief Editor. This was his most fulfilling period. However, he did become the butt of some jokes. His mother always urged him to get married. He himself wanted to find a bride. The women were often nice to him in a way that, before he went to prison, would have indicated a desire to marry. However, the times had changed, and the women who were friendly toward him did not necessarily want to marry when he expressed his feelings along that line.

Once his colleagues in Taiwan Political Review asked him to go downstairs to buy some dumplings. An hour passed and he did not return. They found him standing outside the gate not knowing how to use the intercom to have the gate opened. There were a lot of stories about the naiveté that came from his long separation from society. They are both funny and sad.

After the authorities ordered the magazine

"temporarily" closed, Huang and Chief Editor Chang Chün-hung got together some money to open a café, called "Meet and Eat." They hoped to make some money for the magazine if the suspension was lifted. For two intellectuals to run a restaurant would not be not easy under any circumstances, but the worst thing they had to put up with was continual harassment by the police. On one occasion Huang Hua was detained and charged with running a "telephone room" [call-girl station]. Huang did not even know what a "telephone room" was. Fortunately, [non-Party political leaders] K'ang Ning-hsiang and Huang Hsin-chieh bailed him out.

But the next blow was really cruel: Huang was again charged with "rebellion." The military prosecutor claimed that he, Hsieh Ts'ung-min and Wei T'ing-ch'ao worked for Communist China. They were said to have bought weapons and planned to bomb BankAmerica. The prosecution presented two witnesses who insisted that Huang did it. To this day, the Huang family does not know what was going on. They know neither the result of the investigation, nor about the indictment and sentence. Mrs. Huang wants Hua back, but she does not have connections. She wrote him asking him to send the indictment and statement of sentence. However, the prison administration did not allow him to do so. This type of justice is abhorrent to the international community, but it comes as no surprise in Taiwan.

Communism is what the Huangs hate most. The accusation of "spying for the communists" is more heart-breaking to his mother than an accusation of robbery or rape. Huang Hua's pacifism and reformism is well-known. He is always opposed to violence. They even accused him of joining with over ten persons to secretly buy dynamite. This is really a Taiwanese "Arabian Nights." Unfortunately, this type of "making white black" did occur--to Huang Hua.

Some say that the true reason for Huang Hua's arrest was to teach a lesson to others involved in the Taiwan Political Review, such as Huang Hsin-chieh, K'ang Ning-hsiang and Chang Chün-hung. Others say that the Kuomintang picked on Huang Hua because he worked too hard for the non-partisans. After the suspension of the Taiwan Political Review he went about selling already-printed issues of the magazine, ignoring advice to the contrary. Thus, the authorities wanted to make life hard for him. No matter what the real reason was, Huang lost the more than NT\$500,000 that his friends put up to help him. And he went to prison for the third time.

MOTHER, PLEASE WAIT

Huang Hua is now 45. He began his prison career when he was 25. He has spent more than 17 years in prison only because he advocated political reform. His friends miss his cheerful laugh. His mother, with her gaunt body, even sighed, "Ah-Hua, this child. Everyone praises him. If he needed to be 'corrected,' then one third of the youth of Keelung needs to be jailed." Her collapsed eyes move, and her voice trembles. "Such an injustice has been done to this child Hua. When I think about him I cannot sleep. In the middle of the night I am sobbing."

Mother Huang only hopes that Hua may come home before she dies, so that she can quickly get him married. Then she could die in peace. But her health is degenerating, and she realized death is not far off. She worries about her bad fate. Sometimes she wants to say: "Ah-Hua, the stuff that you wanted Mom did not send you because Mom is blind. I do not know if I can live until you come home." Then the grandson who was writing the letter for her hugged her, saying: "Grandma, don't say that!"

His family dares not tell Huang Hua that his mother is blind and gaunt. What for? It can only increase the pain and worry of a prisoner. The Kuomintang will never let Huang Hua come home to see his mother simply on account of such considerations. If a prison wall did not mean tragedy, separation from relatives, and no hope of seeing a dying parent, what would it mean? How could it scare the "monkeys" outside? [A reference to the proverb "Kill a chicken to scare the monkeys."]

One in hardship can only depend on his will and life to overcome trouble, confinement and pain. But Huang Hua's mother must try to cheat death. She is like a marathon runner, shaking as if about to fall, pushing toward the finish line far ahead. Three years are left in the ten-year race. Although she can see nothing, the fatal pain in her body is ever present. Still, she keeps running. She is determined to last until Hua comes home. ✕

Ratification Status of Major Human Rights Agreements

	Slav.	Sup.	Wom.	POWs.	War.	Ref.	Gen.	C&P	ES&C
China:				x	x				
Taiwan:	x	x	x				x		
Japan:			x	x	x			x	x
Korea, North:				x	x			x	x
Korea, South:			x	x	x				
Mongolia:	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x

Slav: 1926 Slavery Convention.
 Sup: 1956 Supplementary Slavery Convention.
 Wom: 1953 Convention on Political Rights of Women.
 POWs: 1949 Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War.
 War: 1949 Convention on the Protection of Civilizations in Wartime.
 Ref: 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees.
 Gen: 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide.
 C&P: 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
 ES&C: 1966 Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Information extracted from U. S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982."

x = Ratified.

LEGEND

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A April	FCW Free China Weekly (ROC)	LAT Los Angeles Times	SC Sichuan Province
a August	FEE Far Eastern Econ. Review	LN Liaoning Province	SCM South China Morning Post
AE Asahi Evening News	FJ Fujian Province	M March	SD Shandong
AFP Agence France Presse	GD Guangdong Province	m May	SH Greater Shanghai
AH Anhui Province	GM Guangming Daily	MD Mainichi Daily News	Sh SPEAHRhead
AP Associated Press	GS Gansu Province	MPR Mongolian People's Rep.	SK South Korea
AR autonomous region	GX Guangxi Zhuang AR	MRK Monthly Rev Korean Afrs	Sn Shaanxi (Shensi) Prov.
Aw Asiaweek	GZ Guizhou Province	N November	SX Shanxi (Shansi) Prov.
AWJ Asian Wall St. Journal	HB Hubei Province	NF Nanfang Ribao	SS SPEAHR's private sources
BI Ba-I Radio	Heb Hebei Province	NK North Korea	T Tibet (Xizang) AR
BJ Beijing (greater Peking)	Hen Henan Province	NL News & Letters (Detroit)	TC Taiwan Communiqué
BR Beijing Review	HK Hong Kong	NM Nei (Inner) Monggol AR	TJ Greater Tianjin
BX Bai Xing	HKS Hong Kong Standard	NX Ningxia (Hui) AR	TK Tokyo
ß broadcast transcript	HL Heilongjiang Province	NYT New York Times	TW Taiwan
C China (People's Rep.)	HN Hunan Province	o October	U USSR
c circa	HQ Hongqi (Red Flag)	OB Taiwan Church News:	UPI United Press Int'l.
CD China Daily	I January	Occasional Bulletin	v volume
CDM Monthly Bulletin Chinese	J June	PD People's Daily	WB wan bao
Democratic Movement	j July	PK People's Korea	WP Washington Post
CF Ching Feng	JL Jilin Province	PN Pa-shih nien-tai	XH Xinhua/New China
CLG Chinese Law & Gov't	JP Japan	PRC People's Rep. of China	News Agency
CP China Post (Taipei)	JS Jiangsu Province	QH Qinghai Province	XJ Xinjiang (Uygar) AR
GPC Communist Party of China	JT Japan Times	QN Qishi niandai	YN Yunnan Province
CSM Christian Science Montr.	JX Jiangxi Province	R Reuters	Y RMB (PRC), yen (Japan)
D December	K Kyodo	RB Ribao (daily newspaper)	ZJ Zhejiang Province
	KC Korea Communiqué	ROC Rep. of China (Taiwan)	ZM Zhengming

GUIDE to the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

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